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ABSTRACT

The two basic purposes of this study were: (1) to determine the type of statewide planning done in states with relatively long experience in this activity, and (2) to analyze the significance of statewide planning on the operation and development of different colleges and universities within the state. Chapter I presents the conceptual framework for the study. Chapter II discusses some notable historical events in the development of higher education in the U.S. Chapters III through VI present detailed information on planning and its importance for and impact on institutions of higher education in California, Florida, Illinois, and New York. Chapter VII discusses statewide planning and private higher education. In Chapter VIII a comparative analysis is made of the different types of statewide planning and major findings are reported. Chapter IX discusses problems in responsibility and authority. The methodology of the study is presented in the appendix. An extensive bibliography is included. (AF)

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Higher Education by Design: The Sociology of Planning

Project Title
Statewide Planning in
Higher Education

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CENTER FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT
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DEDICATION

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Overview

This publication constitutes the final report of a three-year study of statewide planning for higher education and its impact on institutions of higher education--universities, four-year colleges, and two-year colleges, both public and private. The purposes of the study were basically two: First, to determine the type of statewide planning that has been done in states with relatively long experience in this activity, and second, to analyze the significance of statewide planning on the operation and development of different colleges and universities within the state. The study also required an examination of planning efforts at other levels. The present volume deals with planning at the statewide and segmental levels. Forms of institutional planning are reported on in a companion volume, Planning for Self-Renewal.

The present book is organized into nine chapters and an appendix. Chapter I presents the conceptual framework for the study; theory is developed about the process and importance of making critical decisions about policy issues in higher education within a network of colleges and universities. It is argued, for example, that the amalgamation of colleges and universities into networks of interdependent institutions produces an inevitable tension between the competing interests of the total network and those of its component parts, a phenomenon commonly phrased by educators as the tension between central authority and local campus autonomy. The point is also made that all networks of institutions share a common set of statewide planning problems about which critical decisions need to be made—namely, the determination of statewide goals for higher education, the establishment of patterns of cooperation among institutions, the allocation of resources consistent with long-range plans, and the promotion of innovation and change throughout a system.

In Chapter II the more notable historical events in the development of higher education in the United States are presented. This review highlights the generic forces in the evolution of state systems and the various ways in which planning has presumably threatened or encroached on the autonomy of institutions of higher learning.

Based on the concepts and hypotheses of Chapter I and the historical perspective of Chapter II, the next four chapters present detailed information about planning and its importance to institutions in each of four states. These studies open with a historical sketch of higher education in the state, highlighting early statewide studies and their significance to the establishment of a formal agency responsible for statewide planning. A picture of the contemporary structure of higher education is then given, along with a brief account of major organizational relationships, and the process of statewide planning is described in terms of participants, planning structure, major issues, and key recommendations. Each case study is largely concerned with the critical decisions about educational goals and functional differentiation between institutions, integration and cooperation between various groups of colleges and universities, especially cooperative arrangements between the public and private sectors, and the process and distribution of financial and human resources. An attempt is also made to assess how important suprainstitutional decisions affect educational autonomy at the campus level.

Chapters VII and VIII return to a broader, more general level of analysis, and compare the impact of state planning on institutions of higher education, both private and public, with a variety of missions and roles. No important differences were found between states with respect to nonpublic institutions (Chapter VII), but critical differences were found with respect to public institutions (Chapter VIII).

The final chapter speaks to the practitioner, planners at the statewide, segment, and institutional levels. While informed by the findings of the study, the guidelines presented in this chapter are also based on the authors' personal judgments.

Overall, the study investigates the relatively uncharted waters of planning in higher education, develops a theory to study interdependencies between educational institutions, describes planning with detail in four states, points up similarities and differences between states, and recommends a process and structure for planning that capitalizes on expertise at all levels of state higher education networks.

I

The Theoretical Framework

Organizational theorists are turning their attention more and more to the study of organization-sets or webs of organizations. This trend suggests that one particularly interesting feature of an organization's environment is the presence of other organizations, upon which they are increasingly dependent. Among the settings that have been studied from the interorganizational perspective are the auto industry, health and welfare agencies, hospitals, community chests, and social service exchanges. Examination of the field of higher education from an interorganizational perspective reveals a more recent phenomenon--the increasingly significant linkages between parts of the higher education enterprise and various governmental agencies, private foundations, and professional associations.

The major focus of the present investigation is on statewide planning and its impact on colleges and universities. The theoretical framework for the study is presented in the first section of this chapter; the basic features of interorganizational networks are spelled out in detail in the four subsequent subsections. The attempt will be to show how the structure and processes of interorganizational networks significantly affect the functioning of their constituent parts--or more precisely, to identify the apparent relationship between statewide planning and changes in institutions of higher learning.

Interorganizational Networks (IONs) in Higher Education

Planning in higher education generally has not been studied within a theoretical framework. The following framework is a step in the direction of overcoming two general shortcomings of previous research: Most studies of the subject have drawn upon case studies of planning within a single institution or, in a few cases, within a statewide system; only very limited efforts have been made to derive generalizations and to specify the conditions under which they would apply elsewhere. Secondly, no researchers have systematically looked at statewide planning within the organizational context of a total statewide network for higher education.

In the investigation reported on here, interorganizational networks (IONs) in higher education consist of the interrelationships of the following groups: all public and nonpublic colleges and universities in a given state; subnetworks of institutions which are administered as separate organizational units; and the various members of the governor's office, legislative committees, state agencies, professional associations, and local community interest groups directly involved or deeply interested in the affairs of higher education.

In 1965, Clark described the growing importance of interorganizational patterns in education. However, neither Clark's description of interorganizational patterns, nor the many others contained in the burgeoning literature on interorganizational analysis (cf., Aiken and Hage, 1968), adequately captured the phenomena under examination in the present study. Whereas earlier theories of bureaucracy stress the hierarchical features internal to a single organization, the recent literature on interorganizational patterns highlights the more voluntary and cooperative relationships among several organizations.

In many important ways, IONs are both hierarchical and nonhierarchical; there are formal authority relationships and informal avenues of influence. The complexity of the networks is increased by the presence of these several and often contradictory features. As a consequence, one might well expect to find anxieties and tensions around such an issue as the centralization or decentralization of authority in regard to such important matters as who offers which educational programs, who recruits faculty, students, and staff, and who decides on the level of funding for the various types of educational units.

The question of centralization was not a central issue, however, in the several studies of interorganizational behavior reviewed by Aiken and Hage. Focusing as they did on exchanges between organizations --of goods, services, personnel, information, and material resources-- the applicability of the earlier studies to the present problem was limited. Thus, a framework is necessary which includes both the analytical features of the early bureaucratic theorists and the more recent contributions of interorganizational studies. After considering a wide range of possibilities and types of features, three dimensions were settled on as basic to IONs--degree of differentiation, distribution of authority, and type of planning (statewide). These terms are briefly explicated below.

Degree of Differentiation

Differentiation has long been a fundamental concept in the field of sociology (Parsons, 1961). One of its earlier uses in educational planning was the 1948 "Strayer Report", in which the educational functions of different types of institutions in California were discussed. McConnell (1962) also concerned himself with the problem of differentiation in a major work. He stated that:

> Any master plan for the statewide development of higher education will inevitably provide for some differentiation of functions to make systematic what might otherwise be chaotic /p. 59/.

And also:

> A general principle to be observed in planning institutions and distributing educational programs in a statewide system of higher education is that most general kinds of education--those that serve the greatest number of students--should be widely dispersed and the most specialized programs--those that enroll few students--concentrated in a single institution or in a very limited number of places /p. 75/.

These two prescriptions offered eight years ago are now central issues in statewide planning. For while few plans today ignore the basic job of dividing the educational labor among various types of institutions, there is little consensus on how differentiation is best achieved, or once achieved, best maintained.

Differentiation refers here to the way in which a higher education network is divided into its component parts or segments. A segment is defined primarily in terms of a group of institutions that perform similar educational functions. For some statewide networks, the separation of institutions by function is legally established, e.g., the tripartite schema in California or the five-part pattern in Illinois. There are cases, however, in which the legal-formal definitions do not fully describe the form that educational differentiation has taken in some states. In these situations, additional breakdowns are necessary to more accurately describe important features about differentiation. For example, New York's large and impressive higher education complex can be analyzed with respect to the formal-legal definitions of the State University of New York (SUNY) and the City University of New York (CUNY), which have their own lay boards and central administrative offices. Therefore the impact of state planning on SUNY and CUNY can be examined as though each were a separate segment. In addition, each of these segments contains a range of institutions that serve different educational functions. Hence, these segments can be broken down analytically into subsegments of similar institutions, i.e., university centers, colleges of arts and sciences, community colleges, and "special" institutions (e.g., forestry, ceramics, fashion, maritime, etc.). Even in states where legal definitions divide institutions into segments, it is often necessary for purposes of analysis to supplement this with less formal distinctions among institutions, e.g., new and/or experimental campuses, four-year colleges striving for university recognition, and the like.

With these definitions and qualifications in mind, it was decided that for analytical purposes a statewide network would be judged to be relatively differentiated from other states when it had nine or more distinct segments. An undifferentiated network would be one with seven or fewer individual segments. (These cutting points are based mainly on the four states in the present study.) Although judgments were made primarily in terms of number of segments, it is clear that the number of institutions per segment is an important additional piece of information. There are two widely held and diverse points of view about why the number of institutions per segment is important: 1) That the existence of many institutions in a segment (i.e., over twenty institutions under one board) provides a greater degree of autonomy for each campus because the governing board and its staff cannot exercise close surveillance over each campus. 2) That this same condition leads a governing board to centralize and standardize segmental rules and procedures, thus unnecessarily constraining institutional autonomy. These positions will be assessed in the present study.

Distribution of Authority

The second key dimension of IONs is the distribution of authority within the statewide educational hierarchy (cf., Peabody, 1964, for an extensive review of the basic literature on authority). Although the terms "power" and "authority" are used in a variety of ways in the literature, they are here used as follows: Power is defined as control or influence over the actions of others, without their consent, against their "will", or without their knowledge or understanding, to promote one's own goals. Authority is defined as the direction given or control exercised over the behavior of others with their knowledgeable consent, for the promotion of collective goals. Formal authority is based on formal-legal definitions in organizations; informal authority on the flow of influence among individuals and groups.

An example of the exercise of formal authority in higher education is the creation of a statewide planning agency with legal powers in certain areas. The segment boards also are given legal control over various decisions concerning their campuses, and the campuses themselves are allowed to decide upon some operational matters. Those involved in the statewide system of authority in higher education generally include the governor, the legislature, the state budget or finance office, the statewide planning agency, the segment boards, and the institutions. As a result of several recent aid programs, the federal government has also become an important participant. In some states there are various additional organizations and agencies which are legally included in the authority system. In the case studies to follow, the particular role of these organizations will be discussed where relevant.

In comparison, the exercise of informal authority, sometimes referred to as influence, is based on the use of extra-legal political and economic resources. For example, although taxpayers' associations have no formal power, they sometimes exercise a profound influence over certain developments in higher education. Other important interest groups affecting higher education include alumni, chambers of commerce, accreditation agencies, professional associations, and citizens' groups.

Types of Authority Structures

An interorganizational network with relatively centralized authority is one in which decision-making is concentrated among the "upper echelon" members of a statewide educational hierarchy (Price, 1968). Statewide coordinating and planning agencies for higher education are included among upper echelon members because the coordinating agency in a centralized ION would have strong authority and duties *vis a vis* the segments and institutions. State government officials and agencies are also included, and their formal points of penetration into the processes and affairs of higher education are examined. For example, there are significant variations from state to state in the power of the governor and legislature to make appointments to various higher education boards. Furthermore, since wide differences exist in the legal authority of legislative analysts, auditors, departments of finance, budget commissions, state budget offices, and similar state agencies, these variations also figure in the judgment of the degree of centralized authority in IONs.

It is clear, however, that any definition of centralized or decentralized authority structures must go beyond formal definitions. Frequently, the distinction between formal and informal authority is vague, and informal sources of authority effectively exert influence over key decision-making processes. In higher education this happens quite frequently, since the legal authority of the state government (executive and legislative), the statewide planning body, the segments, and the institutions is generally ill-defined and in a state of flux. When the formal authority of organizations is unclear, the network is left open to informal influences from the organizations which can muster the greatest political and economic power. Under such circumstances, order must be regarded not as a prescribed set of stable relationships, but as a process of exchange, negotiation, and bargaining. The rules and regulations are often ambiguous and the legal authority with regard to particular areas of decision-making is ill-defined, overlapping, or unspecified. It is necessary, therefore, to look beyond the formal rules, to the actual decision-making processes as they occur.

Types of Planning

Since the concept of planning has been variously defined and used, it has no precise meaning (various definitions are given by Gross, 1967; also see Doob, 1940). Michael (1968) recently offered the following definition:

> The concept of long-range planning used here subsumes both the formulation of desired end states and the design and implementation of the means for getting from here to there. It thus includes procedures for revising the means and for reevaluating the ends as the program evolves over time. It is, thereby, responsive rather than rigid and, as such, is much harder to formulate, but more likely to be socially justifiable and feasible /p. 1191/.

This definition was inadequate to our purposes, however, since it does not sufficiently distinguish planning from many other human actions. To meet the need for a statement that would specify planning in higher education as well as include the several forms of planning, the following definition was formulated by Palola (1967) at the outset of the study:

> Statewide planning refers to those activities which: 1) represent a statewide effort to suggest solutions to the existing problems and the future needs for higher education; 2) provide significant guidelines in assigning priorities for the allocation of scarce resources (land, facilities, finances); and 3) have altered or have the potential to alter the form and function of existing institutions and the overall pattern of higher education within a state.
>
> Thus, statewide planning has no single form, but can be observed in a variety of modalities, including statewide master plans, statewide operating budgets, plans for the growth and expansion of facilities, special studies or reports on particular issues (economic potential of a state, location of new institutions and branch-campuses, enrollment projections, institutional size and capacities, policies about faculty recruitment and retention, student admissions and validation of admissions criteria, scholarship and grants-in-aid, technical and vocational education. inter-institutional programs and consortia, and the like)/p. 16/.

After a study of the several forms and processes of educational planning in the four states to be investigated and a survey of information available for other states, six dimensions were identified which, when combined, formed the basis for judging whether statewide planning was comprehensive or fragmented in a particular state. The six dimensions --namely scope, priority, research, participants, implementation, and time span--are discussed briefly below:

> SCOPE--All major policies about statewide functions and activities for higher education are examined. In general, this includes education, facilities, and fiscal policies. More specifically, in the education category, this involves the definition of goals in regard to the socio-cultural, economic, political, and psychological or humanistic aims of higher education. Also, the numbers and types of different institutions are established to meet the various educational goals identified.
>
> PRIORITY--The statewide goals for higher education receive first priority, followed by decisions about facilities and finances. In other words, issues about public and educational policy are the first order of business.
>
> RESEARCH--A continuous process of research occurs which goes beyond the routine studies normally conducted by institutional research offices and focuses on the key issues facing the state (e.g., manpower needs, economic resources, geographic distribution of campuses, lifelong learning, individualized education, new technologies, and institutional size.
>
> PARTICIPANTS--Students, faculty, administrators, statewide coordinators, legislators, and governors all share responsibility for planning in higher education. Each group has a unique perspective, type of expertise, and particular contribution to make toward statewide planning. A variety of roles--initiator, reviewer, recommender, decision-maker, implementor, and evaluator--are played by the above groups at different times in the planning process.
>
> IMPLEMENTATION--A time-table and general strategy are specified by which proposals will be put into action. Such a strategy considers vested interests within various parts of the statewide network.

> TIME-SPAN--Statewide plans contain proposals for three time periods: short-range (1-4 years); intermediate-range (5-25 years), and extended long-range (26-50 years). Planning which concentrates solely on one- or two-year periods overlooks important long-term questions. Similarly, planning focused on intermediate or extended long-range goals ignores more immediate and pressing needs.

Statewide planning in none of the four states fully satisfies the above criteria. Nevertheless, when the above criteria are applied, it becomes clear that there are important differences between states with respect to the content of plans and the process of planning. Comprehensive statewide planning is broad in scope, based on priorities, informed by research, developed through widespread participation and by plans implemented according to a predetermined time-table and general strategy, and designed to span programs and proposals across multiple projection periods.

Although the discussion thus far emphasizes the role of planning in setting policies and procedure for higher education, other ways of making decisions and taking concerted action will be examined. As mentioned earlier, although planning reflects one formal-legal avenue by which important decisions may be made, the exercise of pressure through statewide and local vested interest groups is an important mechanism too. Some argue that planning in a state can be evaluated in terms of how well political pressures and vested interests are removed from the decision-making process. However, since planning at the state level involves many issues of public policy, statewide planning is necessarily a political activity, and successful planning at any level requires that special interests be recognized, respected, and carefully integrated into planning. Obviously, effective planning cannot be dominated by special interest groups, but neither can planning be unresponsive to a judicious blending of formal and informal mechanisms. Some of the excellent discussions of the relation of planning to politics are those by Altschuler, 1966; Banfield, 1961; Meyerson and Banfield, 1955; Michael, 1968; and Wildavsky, 1964.

In addition to formal-legal methods and responses to pressure, a third way in which critical decisions can be analyzed is to examine the process of budgeting. The importance of budgeting as a mechanism for making decisions is discussed later in this chapter, in the section on resource allocation.

Critical Decisions of IONs

If authority and power are to be useful concepts, they must be analyzed with respect to decision-making processes in actual situations. Too often these terms are analyzed in an abstract and rather sterile way, and generalizations are made without careful analysis of the actual decision-making process. The focus here will be on how decisions are made, on who participates in the process, and on the kind of authority and power invoked to effect the final outcome.

In studying organizations, however, all decisions cannot be treated as equally relevant and worthy of consideration. Therefore, some criteria must be introduced to distinguish between significant and insignificant areas of policy formation. In this context a distinction offered by Selznick (1957) provides a useful starting point. In discussing the function of leadership in organizations, Selznick pointed out that many decisions are relatively unimportant to the understanding of the overall development of the organization concerned. He remarked:

> The day-to-day functioning of the organization requires the continuous solution of problems. For the most part, the existing structure--both the informal human relations and the more formal patterns of communication and control--is competent to meet issues as they arise without internal crisis. As the daily work proceeds, changes occur, but normally these do not significantly affect the nature of the enterprise or its leadership /p. 34/.

Selznick referred to these everyday matters as "routine decisions," and in general, it is of little use for students of organizational behavior to focus much attention on these routine adaptations. The challenge lies in what Selznick termed "critical decisions." As he expressed it:

> There is a vital sector of organizational experience that cannot be understood as simple problem-solving in which the organization remains essentially intact. Rather, in this sector we find such adaptations of leadership to the interplay of internal and external forces as result in basic institutional changes. This is the area of 'character-defining' commitments, which affect the organization's capacity to control its own future behavior /p. 35/.

In other words, critical decisions are those which have long-range, fundamental implications for the development of the organization--in this case, statewide networks. Such decisions determine the direction of its evolution and design the means for its goal achievement, and thereby set the general character and identity which will guide its long-range development.

The concentration will be on the three types of critical decisions considered in this study to be the most critical in higher education: the setting of goals and the development of programs to meet the goals; the educational integration of the system; and the allocation of resources in the network. The critical decisions in these three areas will in turn be related to educational autonomy at the institutional level.

Goals

As Selznick emphasized in his discussion of critical decisions, the primary task faced by all formal organizations or networks of organizations is the definition of their goal and purposes--their reason for being. To set goals is to make certain value commitments which define the desired future relationship between the organization and its environment. Once defined, goals can provide guidelines for making the day-to-day decisions which ultimately determine the survival and/or success of the organization.

Two other key features of goals should be noted. First, goal definition is a continuous process. Changes in the organization or the environmental forces impinging on it require constant review and perhaps alteration of goals (Thompson and McEwen, 1958). Second, an important distinction exists between "official" and "operative" goals. Perrow (1961) states that the former are seen in formal publications written for public consumption; the latter show the actual operating policies of the organization, or ". . . they tell us what the organization actually is trying to do, regardless of what the official goals say are the aims." This distinction is important to the present study because planning documents frequently serve a variety of audiences which hold different, and sometimes conflicting views of college campuses. Thus, somewhat abstract and bland statements about organizational goals are often formulated by colleges to avert possible tensions and conflicts, and to allow the institution maximum maneuverability.

There is no paucity of research and analytical work on the topic of organizational goals. Several of these articles are directly relevant to higher education, including discussions of intangible goals (Corson, 1960), multi-goal organizations (Warner and Haven, 1968; Lee, 1967), difficulties in assessing achievement of organizations with poorly defined goals (Thompson, 1967), vulnerability to external pressures of organizations with vague goals (Selznick, 1960), and the importance of wide participation in the goal-defining process (Clark, 1956; Etzioni, 1964).

It is a recurring theme in the literature of goals in education that too little attention is paid to defining the aims of the educational process beyond coining global abstractions. Henry Dyer (1967) summarized the situation this way:

> As you watch the educational enterprise going through its interminable routines, it is hard to avoid the impression that the whole affair is mostly a complicated ritual in which the vast majority of participants...have never given thought to the question why, in any fundamental sense, they are going through the motions they think of as education /p. 2/.

Despite the rapid change in American society and the increasing importance of education in this process, educational policy-makers have been content, by and large, to allow tradition and inertia to determine educational processes. In the present study, the term goal evasion is used to describe the laxity with which organizations specify their objectives and purposes and make statements which provide no useful basis on which to add to or subtract from existing programs and activities. Long-range planning in higher education seldom examines basic issues of educational policy, but instead focuses on campus size, the number of campuses, cost of instruction, and similar factors. Gross (1968) found the same situation in his recent national study of goals, power structure, and other characteristics of universities. He states:

> What is most striking about the list of top goals is that practically all of them are what we have called support goals and only one of them in any way involves students /p. 530/.

Levels of Goal Analysis

In the interorganizational network of higher education, goal-defining processes take place at three levels. First, the state government and/or the statewide planning agency is faced with the task of defining statewide goals. At this level the goals are necessarily somewhat abstract and concerned with broad public policy issues, such as the general functions which our educational system performs for the citizens of the state. To provide an indication of the range of goals to which a state might commit itself, we can suggest four broad categories:

1) Social/cultural goals refer to a concern for contemporary social problems, the democratization of educational opportunities, the promotion of cultural interests and activities, and standards for excellence in education.

2) Economic goals refer to the supply and demand of economic resources, trained manpower, and the deployment of human resources.

3) Political goals refer to the form, function, and process of government, and an appreciation of and concern about governmental affairs by an informed citizenry.

4) Humanistic/psychological goals refer to a recognition and building of educational programs which cater to the individual needs of students and encourage students to search for values and strive for self-awareness.

Seen from the statewide perspective, each of these represents a quite different emphasis. The first says that higher education must be attuned to social problems and their resolutions; the second that higher education must work primarily toward improving the economy of the state; the third that higher education must teach people the necessity for, appreciation of, and concern about government; the fourth that higher education must focus on individuals, individual talent, and the psychological and intellectual growth of individuals.

The historical development of these and various other types of goals in each of our four states will be analyzed, along with the changing priorities among the goals which each state had developed. Particular attention will be paid to the variety of participants in the statewide goal-setting process and the implications this has for the evolution of the system of higher education.

Once goals have been defined for the state as a whole, decisions must be made about the different types of institutions needed to fulfill these goals. This second level will be referred to as segmental goals.

In a multi-level organizational network, one problem lies in assessing the relationship at each level between stated and actual goals. Gross (1968) provides evidence to show that the goal structure of universities heavily controlled by state legislators is much different than that of universities where state involvement is highly circumscribed. Assessments will be made about how broad statewide goals are translated into segmental goals, and the following questions will be asked: Are statewide goals simply unanalyzed abstractions, or have they been specified into segmental goals? Do the goals of the segments overlap, and if so, what effect does the overlap have upon the operation of the system?

The lowest level of goal definition to be dealt with will be institutional goals. Under this rubric, the continuity between segment goals and the goals of individual campuses within each segment will be discussed. Of further interest will be the extent to which institutions in a given segment are similar. In other words, has a division of labor been defined within the segment, or are all its campuses allowed or encouraged to perform all of the functions granted to the segment as a whole?

In his recent study of universities as organizations, Gross (1968) developed several types of goals for examination at the institutional level. In general, these goal types span both the "output" and "maintenance" functions of organizations. The present investigation will also include study of these different types of goals and the relationships among them. For example, if a campus seeks to be experimental, is it allocated human and fiscal resources to facilitate these goals? Often, standard formulas are uniformly applied, with the result that the special requirements of experimental or innovative programs are overlooked (cf., Miller 1964 for a discussion of this problem and ways of coping with it).

Integration

The second general area of critical decisions has been defined here as educational integration. Although the literature on organizational analysis includes much more mention of differentiation than integration, there are now signs of growing interest in integration and its relationship to differentiation. Thompson and McEwen (1958) offer several hypotheses that focus on this problem, as do Lawrence and Lorsch (1967) in their study of the relationship between differentiation, integration, and organizational performance. These authors define conditions important to the development of cooperative programs among organizations and demonstrate how these arrangements promote the effectiveness of organizations that participate in joint programs.

The term integration will be used here in a somewhat more limited sense than it has customarily been referred to in sociological and organizational theory. Talcott Parsons (1960) used the term basically to refer to generalized patterns of value-orientation which bring groups or collectivities into closely knit groups. And some organizational theorists use the term to denote the creation of hierarchies of authority and systems of rules and procedures which tie an organization together administratively. In contrast, the present use of the term refers to substantive integration of academic programs within higher education networks. That is, study was made of various patterns of cooperation between colleges and universities through which limited but highly valuable human and material resources are shared. These may include the joint appointment of faculty at a state college and a university, the working out of agreements so that instructional programs in one type of institution lead smoothly to the transfer of students into another type of institution, or the development of cultural programs which serve all segments and are possible only with the combined financial resources of all segments.

In higher education, cooperative arrangements serve interorganizational networks in important ways; well-conceived plans for differentiation and integration can result in one complementing the other. Individual institutions can set relatively restricted goals when they know that other campuses in the network will set somewhat different goals, and that needs left unmet by institutional differentiation will be filled through cooperative programs between institutions. Integration may also contribute significantly toward building educational programs of high quality. Institutions need not be trapped in the familiar pattern of offering such a wide range of programs that resources become spread dangerously thin; participating institutions can combine their limited resources to create strong and well-supported programs. Finally, through the exchange of information and ideas, interinstitutional cooperation can foster self-examination about the effectiveness of various existing programs and the possibility of developing new areas.

Integration can be analyzed at two general levels in the interorganizational network: integration between two or more segments, such as between private and public institutions or between state colleges and universities, and integration of several campuses within a given multi-campus segment, such as a state university system which might establish student or faculty exchange programs among its campuses.

For present purposes, the myriad of integrative programs which are formulated and operated at the institutional level are ignored. The investigation is restricted to the increases in interinstitutional cooperation that have resulted from the amalgamation of colleges and universities into interorganizational networks, and especially to those increases that have resulted from master planning efforts above the institutional level.

Resource Allocation

The third area of critical decisions which will be analyzed in each of the case studies is allocation of resources. Once a set of goals, purposes, and functions has been defined by and for the various segments and institutions within the statewide network, important decisions must be made about the distribution of resources for the accomplishment of these goals. To put it in a slightly different way, the allocation of resources is the process by which means (i.e., students, faculty, administrators, facilities, equipment, etc.) are deployed in order to achieve organizational ends.

This emphasis on the goal-directedness of resource allocation is consistent with most descriptions of budgetary decision-making. For example, Wildavsky (1964) states, "The budget thus becomes a link between financial resources and human behavior to accomplish policy objectives." Similarly, Anshen (1965) introduces the term in the following way: "It is the essence of decision-making, therefore, to choose among alternative ends and to ration scarce means to their accomplishment... The budget process is the activity through which this work is done." These definitions, however, are ideal, overly rationalistic statements of what a budget actually is. Wildavsky (1965) also has pointed out that budget-making can be many other things, such as:

> ...a political act, a plan of work, a prediction, a source of enlightenment, a means of obfuscation, a mechanism of control, an escape from restrictions, a means to action, a brake on progress, even a prayer that the powers that be deal gently with the best aspirations of fallible men /p. v/.

Therefore, even though the broadest concern of the present study is with budgets in terms of means-ends relationships, a variety of other functions become evident when the decision-making process itself is examined. It has been stipulated that planning is basically a goal-oriented activity, either implicitly or explicitly. Since implementing goals involves using resources consistent with these value commitments, it is crucial to analyze budgetary decisions in this light. But more often than not the means-ends linkage breaks down in actual fact. Consequently, the participants in the budget process, the considerations they use in making decisions, and the variety of influence on their decisions must be considered.

It must be made clear that budgets are not being equated with the entire area of resource allocation, which involves the deployment of human resources and therefore such areas as student admissions standards and procedures, faculty recruitment and utilization, and the placement and use of administrative staffs.

In public higher education, the influence of state government is exerted over higher education mainly through fiscal policy. In this sense budget formulation is a political act, and the governor, the legislature, and various state agencies become influential, if not dominant, participants in budgetary processes. Political figures thus become both producers of and reflections of public opinion regarding higher education, and their values play an important role in determining the extent to which higher education is supported financially. In short, the battleground for politicians and educators generally centers around the budgetary process.

The relationship between academic planning per se and fiscal planning deserves careful consideration. Academic planning is increasingly adopting a long-range perspective; projections of academic programs are being made for five to ten years, and at a more general level educational issues of probable relevance to the 21st century are being debated. In contrast to the long-range viewpoint which currently characterizes planning in academic areas, budgets are generally made up annually or biennally. As a result, budgeting is a short-range, pragmatic, political process that often fails to take into account the long-range educational master plans. To the extent that this is true, planning in higher education becomes an exercise in futility and master plans become little more than "paper tigers."

One possible solution to this dilemma lies in the planning, programming, budgeting systems (PPBS) which many state governments and educational systems are adopting. Ideally, this approach leads to the coordination of fiscal and academic plans on a long-term basis. However, there are a variety of problems involved in redesigning this technique to fit teaching and research enterprises. Formulation of fiscal policy and its relation to the efficacy of educational planning efforts will be a major consideration in the analysis of resource allocation.

Again the three levels of decision-making within the interorganizational network will be studied. At the statewide level, financial support for higher education will be compared with the support for other public services, and viewed in relation to state wealth. The role of the governor, legislature, and those who prepare the state budget will be analyzed, as will the role of other influential state offices, and especially that of the statewide higher education planning body in the budgeting process.

At the segment level, consistency between the assigned educational tasks and the distribution of resources among the segments is critical. The differentiation of functions among the various groups of institutions was established earlier as the major factor related to setting goals at this level. To implement their goals, each segment must be able to garner the requisite funds, but inequities frequently exist since the segments derive funds from different sources. The high prestige public universities usually have fairly broad financial support from the state government, the federal government, and foundations, among other sources. State colleges generally depend almost exclusively on the state government for fiscal viability. Two-year institutions are supported through a combination of local and state revenues. And private colleges and universities draw their revenue from a wide variety of sources. The study will analyze the means and sources of support for the institutions of higher education in each of the four states, and the consonant effect on their educational aims.

The primary interorganizational linkages in this area include the relationships between the segment boards and the statewide planning agencies and between the state government agencies and the segments. The role of each of these organizations in the process of formulating budgets and controlling expenditures will be explored. The latter area involves the pre-audit and post-audit procedures used to oversee the actual dispersal of funds for salaries, equipment, maintenance, etc.

Educational Autonomy

The fourth and last major component of our framework is educational autonomy at the institutional level. This concept was chosen for two reasons: The issue of centralization versus autonomy is cited as one of the key problems by organizational analysts, and the autonomy of colleges and universities has long been held to be a critical issue in higher education.

On the general problem of part-whole relationships, Blau (1964) identifies the basic issue when he says:

> The main problem concerning the relationship between organized units within a larger system and its overall organization under a centralized authority is that of the degree of autonomy of the units and the degree of centralized control exercised over them /p. 294/.

Literature in the field of organizational analysis includes many studies on the broad issue of centralization/decentralization. These studies span such diverse settings as public bureaucracies (Peabody and Rourke, 1965), business organizations (Dill, 1965), industry (March and

Simon, 1958), and military organizations (Lang, 1965). However, many fewer studies have been done on organizational autonomy, and none provides either a satisfactory application of the concept or an adequate technique for measuring it.

The issue of centralization and autonomy in the field of education also has received much attention. But most of the literature consists of opinions on the subject or analytical discussions about the problem (cf., Aldrich, 1966; Browne, 1965; Braumbaugh, 1963; Chambers, 1965; the Committee on Government and Higher Education, 1959; Gould, 1966; McConnell, 1962; Miller, 1962; Millett, 1966; Perkins, 1965, 1966; and Wilson, 1965, 1968). Empirical research on institutional autonomy of colleges and universities is sparse. The two major pieces of work most often mentioned are the studies by Glenny (1959) and Moos and Rourke (1959). Although their rich data are now somewhat old and many changes have occurred in the last ten years, these studies lay the important general groundwork for subsequent investigations.

Several important conceptual issues are associated with autonomy as used more generally in organizational theory and particularly in the study of educational institutions. A full treatment of the issues is surely needed. Katz's recent monograph on this subject is a notable contribution, although oriented mainly to the analysis of roles within organizations (Katz, 1968). With the growing importance of networks or webs of organizations, especially in education, additional analytical work is necessary where institutional autonomy is taken as the major emphasis.

For the moment, however some of the more obvious issues underlying the use of autonomy in education will be summarized. Autonomy is used in a variety of situations in education without its meaning being clearly specified. Discussions of autonomy in relation to colleges and universities require that at a minimum, the following be identified: 1) who is making the judgment, e.g., student, faculty, administrator, or legislator; 2) what is the perspective of the judge, e.g., "old" or "new guard", "radical" or "conservative", "friend" or "enemy" of education, "local" or "cosmopolitan", "career/professional norms or institutional needs"; 3) what process or activity of the institution is being evaluated, i.e., academic, research, or public service programs, finances, facilities, etc.; and 4) what is the time frame of the judgment, past, present, or future. Without a clear indication of these conditions, discussions of autonomy are reduced to a morass of ambiguities. For example, some of the common confusions include procedural versus substantive autonomy, or actual versus aspired autonomy. Furthermore, ambiguities can be easily spotted in the literature on the distinction between institutional autonomy, professional autonomy, and academic freedom. The following discussion is intended to avoid many of these confusions.

Since the focus of the present study is on the impact of statewide planning on the local campus, and educational autonomy is seen here as the key to assessing impact, the purpose is to define more precisely the dimensions of educational autonomy at the institutional level, and also to identify conditions in the larger organizational environment that are significantly related to different levels of educational autonomy. A considerable range of substantive topics under this concept could be explored, among them: institutional mission and role; programs and curricula; methods and forms of instruction; recruitment, selection, promotion, and general welfare of the faculty, including academic freedom; admissions criteria, academic standards, and student affairs; and finances and facilities. This study will investigate educational autonomy in terms of the ability of a college or university to establish, maintain, and enhance its mission and role. More specifically, it will seek to discover who has final authority within IONs on educational programs. Under programs are included the traditional teaching, research, and public service activities of universities and colleges, but other important characteristics closely related to program control also must be examined. These include decisions about finances and decisions about people (employment policies and procedures for faculty, administrators, and staff, and admissions policies and procedures for students).

Three dimensions of the concept of educational autonomy are discussed--the historical, the legal, and the informal. Historical information was collected (primarily through documents and interview data) about the development of colleges and universities in our sample, to obtain some idea about the evolution of autonomy in these institutions. Data also were gathered on the legal powers and responsibilities granted to planning coordinating agencies in response to changes in the statewide network, and on the impact of the changes on different types of institutions. The informal dimension of the concept of educational autonomy--probably the most important--was the most difficult to pursue. Each state's higher education network was systematically queried about opinions, attitudes, and perspectives held by different groups about a selected number of critical decisions. The research design for the study was planned to uncover informal channels of communication and informal pressures upon the formal network. It was expected that institutional documents and interviews would yield only a partial picture and that judgments about changes in educational autonomy, made by staffs of coordinating agencies or segmental boards with different vested interests, would only provide another part of the picture. The attempt was made, nevertheless, to balance these perspectives and data and arrive at a composite assessment of educational autonomy.

The emphasis on the informal dimension of educational autonomy is important for several reasons. Studies of the legal status and historical development of coordinating agencies have provided descriptive accounts of events at a particular point in time, but include little interpretative framework for understanding why certain changes occurred. Since legal and formal changes may frequently occur with or without impact upon the local campus, however, an understanding of the underlying processes which formal changes reflect is critical. Concentration on the informal dimension also allows assessment of how much leeway is present within the formal structure--to what extent, for instance, a college or university can still protect its educational autonomy even when a description of the formal picture indicates a loss of autonomy.

Study of the informal dimension was primarily pursued through relatively unstructured interviews with persons in all parts of the higher education network. Qualitative data of this kind frequently present many difficulties. In the present instance, the most difficult tasks were establishing the facts when contradictory or inconsistent statements were made, and understanding why one set of alternatives that affected educational autonomy was chosen rather than another. It was possible to cross-check much of the factual material because the sample of interviewees represented the network at many different points and levels, but in some cases re-interviewing and further collection of documents was required. Even with these methodological checks, however, it cannot be claimed that the necessarily subjective description and analysis of educational autonomy presented in the study is a fully accurate statement of the actual situation.

The decision to focus on the informal, more subtle aspects of of educational autonomy carried with it the corollary decision not to rely systematically upon specific indices of educational autonomy, such as the number of programs proposed and approved, the level of budget support for innovative programs, and increases in faculty-student ratios. Objective types of measures were used when available, but objective measures often cannot elicit information about the institutional maneuvers and strategies brought into play to protect integrity.

Thus, the assessment made in the study of the level of educational autonomy found in a state or a segment of institutions within a state is based upon a blending of the historical data, the legal-formal structure, and the informal views held by members in the network.

Anticipated Findings

It is important to understand the relationship between the earlier discussion of IONs and their generic problems and the following discussion of different types of IONs. Four basic types of IONs are identified below. Each type is based on four related features of IONs.

Although the process of coping with the generic problems is continuous, the four features represent the nature of an ION at a given point in time.

The four key concepts of the present framework--differentiation, authority, planning, and educational autonomy--were individually introduced and described above. Four types of interorganizational networks were defined in terms of these concepts. The discussion of the nature of these IONs is based both on considerable experience with planning and coordination in the four states included in the present research, and on a large library of documents and special studies about several other states (cf., Paltridge, 1966, 1968; Pliner, 1966; Mayhew, 1969; and Livesey and Palola, 1970).

The relationships between these variables, subsequently to be explained in detail, are shown in Diagram 1, which indicates the type of ION that can be expected to be associated with various levels of educational autonomy at the institutional level.

The evidence suggests that differentiation within a network enhances educational autonomy at the institutional level (i.e., local campus) by permitting each campus the opportunity to develop its unique role. This is accomplished in three ways:

-- Many institutions which serve different educational functions and clients reinforce one another's efforts to be unique. The reverse situation, when a few institutions serve a broad range of educational functions, results in institutional attempts to be "all things to all people."

-- The allocation of different educational tasks among many institutions complicates the centralized administration of the total network. Each unit within the network becomes enmeshed in the culture of its surrounding community and develops an organizational identity of its own. As this happens, it is increasingly difficult for a central agency or single office to closely guide, direct, and control the entire network of institutions, or fully respond to the needs of each institution and the requirements of its local environment.

-- Differentiated networks are more likely to seek and attract a variety of sources of financial support and to contain a variety of different and attractive educational options. For example, some campuses may emphasize individualized instruction, supplemented by the new educational technologies; others may seek to immerse students in urban life and focus on the unique requirements of teaching in such a setting; and still others may stress occupational and vocational programs. Many other options are conceivable, the point being that networks which emphasize diversity among institutions are more able to draw on multiple sources of support and thus enhance institutional independence. This phenomenon is frequently seen in the financing of private higher education.

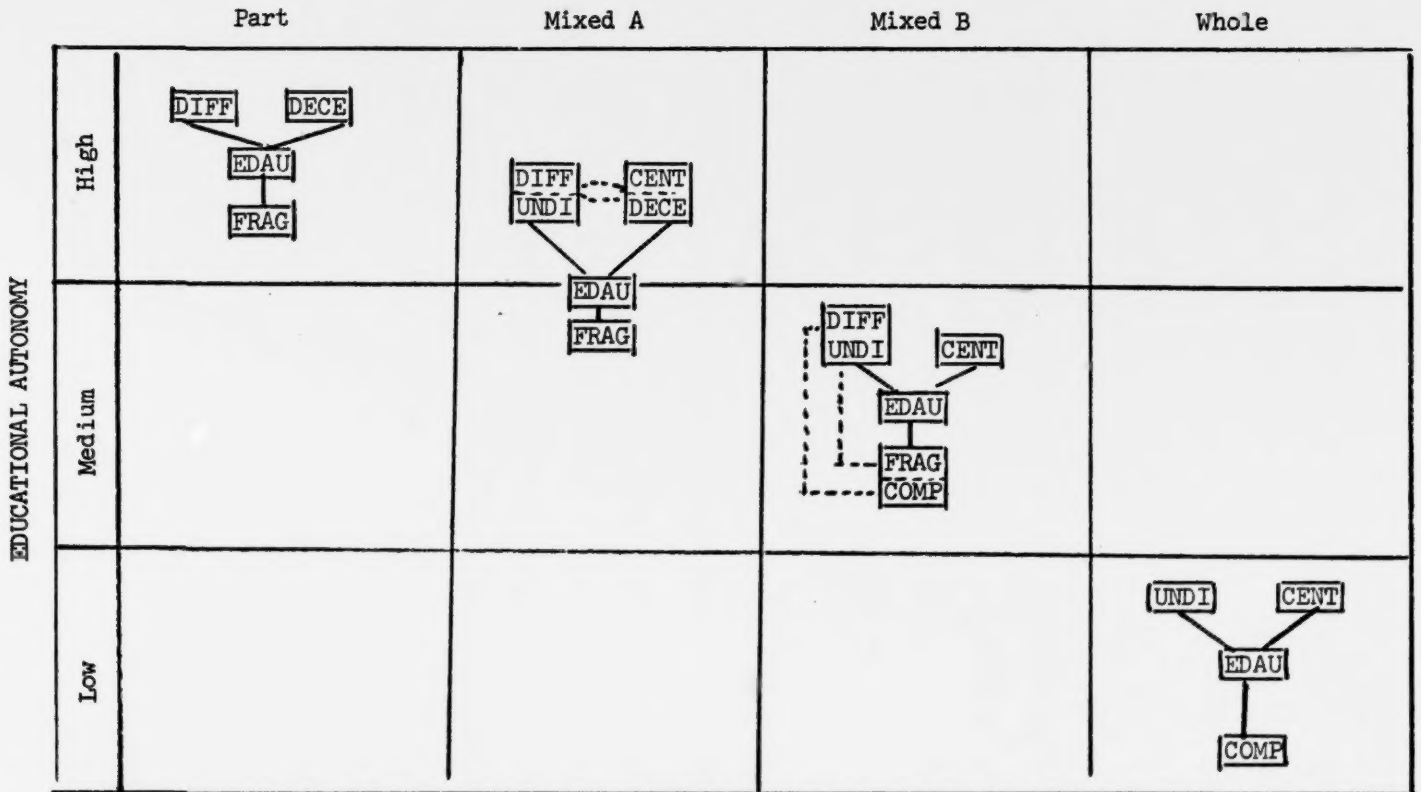
A similar point was made by Evan (1966): "The higher the concentration of input organizational resources, the lower the degree of autonomy in decision making of the local organization." Evan supports this hypothesis by citing the more widespread sources of income available to private institutions than to public ones, and the higher degree of autonomy private institutions enjoy.

A relatively decentralized structure of authority within the organizational network also tends to foster educational autonomy. Authority may be concentrated at certain levels or distributed fairly evenly among all of the three major interorganizational layers distinguishable in higher education--statewide, segmental, and institutional. The terms centralized or decentralized are used to denote the relative concentrations of decision-making responsibility at the statewide and segmental levels. A decentralized configuration leaves much latitude to the local campuses to deal with such key issues as educational programs. Whether or not this opportunity to exercise local initiative is used depends on local institutional leadership, existing community relationships, and the expectations of various constituencies of the institution. A decentralized statewide and segmental authority structure removes one important set of potential barriers to local autonomy, with the result that the local campus is given the latitude to define, modify, and maintain its educational mission and role; an ION with authority centralized in a single statewide agency means that local campuses may not exercise as much control over their destiny.

The practice of fragmented planning at the statewide level also tends to enhance educational autonomy. "Fragmented planning" is used here to describe statewide planning that is narrow in scope, done on an ad hoc basis by statewide administrators who are the key participants, not related to continuous research, and not specifically scheduled for implementation. Much current planning in education by statewide agencies concentrates on non-educational policy questions and issues. Much energy is expended on expanding the capacity of the system to accommodate more

FIGURE 1

Types of Statewide Higher Education Networks


Part
Mixed A
Mixed B
Whole
EDUCATIONAL AUTONOMY
High
Medium
Low
DIFF
DECE
EDAU
FRAG
DIFF
UNDI
CENT
DECE
EDAU
FRAG
DIFF
UNDI
CENT
EDAU
FRAG
COMP
UNDI
CENT
EDAU
COMP

Code: CENT = Centralized DECE = Decentralized EDAU = Educational Autonomy UNDI = Undifferentiated
COMP = Comprehensive DIFF = Differentiated FRAG = Fragmented

students and in rationalizing procedures to obtain a more equitable distribution of scarce fiscal and physical resources. Generally, this type of situation leaves much decision-making flexibility to local institutions. Missions and roles can thus be redefined and modified to satisfy local needs and problems. In addition, fragmented statewide planning only minimally draws on the interests and experiences of campus administrators, faculty, and students. This may constitute an advantage for institutions because information about future institutional plans need not be fully shared, nor are the members of institutions coopted into supporting the proposals of supra-institutional planning. Evan (1966) covered this point when he said: "The greater the overlap in membership between the focal organization and the elements of its set, the lower its degree of decision-making autonomy /p. 182/."

In higher education, statewide and segmental planning become mechanisms through which membership overlap occurs between institutions and extra-institutional agencies. In some states, this overlap is more highly formalized by institutional representatives serving as appointed members to statewide coordinating councils or boards.

Each type of ION can be examined in Figure 1. The figure was arranged so that shifts in education autonomy in relation to changes in network features could be visualized. The network type labeled "Part" identifies a particular network that fosters maximum educational autonomy, that is, when differentiation and fragmented planning are dominant features of the network. The network type labeled "Whole" identifies a low level of autonomy, that is, when the dominant network features are undifferentiation, centralization, and comprehensive planning. Although the two extreme cases are approximated by some statewide higher education systems, they are more likely to be "ideal" cases; they depict the most extreme values for each variable, and serve as benchmarks for the study of individual empirical cases. It is the "Mixed" types that are more likely to be acceptable by various constituent parts of statewide networks. The most attractive feature of the mixed types is their attempt to satisfy both statewide and institutional needs. And as shown in Table 1, there are four different combinations of conditions that are associated with a medium level of educational autonomy for institutions.

The study will present detailed case study analyses of statewide planning and its impact on institutions in four states. The framework discussed in this chapter serves as the matrix within which a variety of data--documents, interviews, observations--will be analyzed and interpreted. The usefulness of the four types of IONs formulated by the research team is assessed in Chapter VIII, in which the empirical results of the case studies are compared and examined.

II

The Historical Setting

A review of some of the more notable historical events in the development of higher education in the United States is necessary to an understanding of contemporary statewide planning and its impact on institutions of higher learning. Through a study of significant changes that have taken place in planning for higher education, the attempt will be made: 1) to analyze the generic forces and critical events that marked the various stages in the evolution of state systems, and 2) to relate these factors to the planning effected at each stage and the extent to which planning threatened or encroached on the autonomy of colleges and universities.

It is through historical review that we can observe the continuities and discontinuities in the evolution of higher education and planning and gain a perspective for viewing the future. And it is through historical analysis that we can discern the benchmarks of change that have had basic consequences for our contemporary systems of higher education. In addition, one of the key dimensions in the methodological assessment of the level of educational autonomy in state systems is an historical one, and many of the differences between the state systems of higher education can be accounted for mainly by different patterns of historical development.

The historical review, covering a 170 year period from 1800 to the present, will be divided into three major eras: Pre-World War II (1800-1940); World War II to 1958; and 1958 to 1969.

The first period, which covers the forming of the American system of higher education, the evolution of different educational functions, and the beginnings of planning, is divided into three sections: Pre-Civil War (1800-1860), Post Civil War (1860-1900), and The Progressive Era (1900-1940).

The Pre-Civil War period was the era of individual colleges, when private and religiously controlled colleges dominated higher education and maintained a high level of educational autonomy. What little planning did occur was derived from dynamic personal leadership at individual colleges and centered on educational reforms that modified the classical education carried over from Europe.

Three important events marked the Post Civil War period--the elective system, the land-grant movement, and the rise of the university. Each of these developments resulted in significant changes in the character and style of American higher education. During this key period of change, educational autonomy remained high for most colleges and universities, and many educational reforms were promoted by able college and university leaders.

The Progressive Era was one of substantial growth--through increased enrollments, expansion of existing institutions, the addition of the public service functions, and the introduction of the commission approach to statewide surveys and planning. As higher education expanded in so many ways during this period, a number of states began to examine their needs for higher education more closely, and some made significant reorganizations in their systems of public higher education. As a consequence, various institutions experienced some restraints upon their all-encompassing educational autonomy.

The period from World War II to 1958 saw the transition from an elite and restricted system to one that permitted and encouraged the mass higher education of the 1960s. As the higher education system grew in size, scope, stature, and support, planning activities proliferated and numerous coordinating-planning agencies were established. During this period, strains developed at various times between state governments and institutions of higher learning, particularly as educators interpreted some developments as challenging and sometimes even jeopardizing their traditional autonomy.

It is in the final period, 1958 to 1969, that mass higher education and master planning became much more of a reality, and statewide networks of colleges and universities crystallized.

THE EVOLVING CHARACTER OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION NETWORK (1800-1940)

Pre-Civil War: The Era of Individual Colleges

Higher education in the United States in the half century prior to the Civil War was characterized by the existence of many small, denominational, privately endowed liberal arts colleges which mainly served the needs of a highly selective middle- to upper-class student clientele (Rudolph, 1961). It was not that the United States had an educational system geared to an aristocratic elite in the European sense; what it did have, however, was restricted percentage of students attending colleges that provided a classical type of education based on the European model. Jencks and Riesman (1968) described the curriculum as neo-classical, ". . . a hodgepodge of miscellaneous information and skills largely oriented toward ancient languages but leavened with modern philosophy, both natural and moral."

Underlying this general structure of early higher education in the United States was a crucial court decision that was to have great significance for the future--the now famous Dartmouth College case of 1819. The events leading up to the case began in 1816, when a question over the locus of authority at Dartmouth College was raised and soon made a public issue. The legislature of New Hampshire, which had originally chartered the institution, decided to investigate the affairs of the college. A few months later the legislature passed and the governor signed, for political reasons, a bill that changed the name of Dartmouth College to Dartmouth University, thus bringing the institution under more state control. Eventually, however, a Supreme Court decision gave the embattled Dartmouth trustees the right to retain the college's name and thereby independence from the state.

The trustees' victory had several crucial consequences. Rudolph (1962) assesses one of these as follows: "The Dartmouth College decision is a landmark in American jurisprudence because it became a 'bulwark of private property' by safeguarding private institutions from legislative interference." By declaring that Dartmouth College was not a public institution, and that as a private corporation it was not subject to the control of the state, the court decision made clear that no exclusive or monopolistic relationship existed between a college corporation and the state that chartered it. Once chartered, the court held, a college was beyond the control of the state. In this respect, then, the Dartmouth case laid the foundations for institutional autonomy.

A second consequence of the Dartmouth College decision was the preservation of the idea of lay boards of trustees. Lay boards were a particularly unique American innovation in higher education, no such tradition having existed in Europe. Lay boards were seen at this time as a natural expression of the American democratic system, since colleges and universities were made responsible to the people who created them. The Supreme Court, in deciding in favor of the Dartmouth trustees, endorsed and thus strongly fortified for the future this American principle of academic organization.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the Dartmouth College decision precipitated an era of widespread founding of denominational colleges. By freeing new private colleges from the danger of state control, it assured them of their right to exist and develop in their own way. The encouragement to private colleges, as Rudolph (1962) observed, "probably helped to check the development of state universities for half a century."

Few other changes in higher education occurred during this early period, although there was some talk of academic reform. Several rudimentary plans for structural and other reforms were presented (especially in the 1840s and '50s), but little was accomplished. The climate was not right for change, since as late as 1860 people continued to conceive of college training as a luxury for the small minority (Brubacher and Rudy, 1958). Thus, the structure and content of higher education essentially represented a continuation of what had developed in the colonial period. Higher education as a whole was highly decentralized, with the various colleges highly autonomous in nature and individualistic in their educational programs. Formal relationships between colleges and between colleges and the state governments were minimal. In the era of the individual colleges, then, planning and reform in higher education were practically nonexistent.

Post Civil War: The Era of the University

In contrast to the years before the Civil War, the era following it was one of profound change for American higher education. The war itself was such a thoroughgoing social convulsion that it forced academicians to face questions that had long been evaded, and thus to clarify the dimensions and prospects of the American college. Under this stimulus, colleges began to re-fashion themselves in a variety of significant ways. Three of the major forces that shaped the character and development of higher education during this period are discussed below--the elective system, the land-grant movement, and the rise of the university.

Internally, the single most important force of change for the American college was the implementation of the elective system. During the first half of the 19th century, nothing had come of the talk of curricular reform or of several plans that advocated an elective system whereby students would have a larger element of choice in college studies. In the decades from 1870 to 1910, however, prompted by the lead taken by Charles William Eliot at Harvard, curricular laissez-faire was popular and dominant in a great number of institutions. According to Brubacher and Rudy (1958), the elective system took at least four basically different forms: 1) total curriculum elective, as at Harvard; 2) curriculums roughly one-half elective and one-half prescribed, as at Columbia, Princeton, and Yale; 3) "major-minor" systems as at the Universities of Wisconsin and Michigan; and 4) the "group system", which organized all college studies into broad categories and required students to take most of their work in one or more groups, as at Johns Hopkins and the University of Pennsylvania.

One of the most significant results of the incorporation of the elective principle was that it made possible a tremendous expansion and broadening of the American college curriculum. Curriculum expansion had several well-marked aspects: the acceptance of a philosophy of the importance of all subjects; the rise of scientific and utilitarian courses to a prominence heretofore enjoyed only by the classics and the humanities; the speedy development of subject-matter specialization, with the attendant departmentalization of the curriculum; and the appearance of a seemingly endless proliferation of courses.

Perhaps the most far-reaching innovative force for the overall structure of higher education in the second half of the 19th century was the land grant college movement. By providing for the support of at least one college in each state in which agriculture and mechanical arts would be stressed, the Morrill Federal Land Grant Act of 1862 put federal monies at the disposal of every state government, and thereby helped to develop a whole new network of institutions with a popular and practical orientation. The land grant movement gave the state universities promise of increasing popularity and usefulness. In allowing the full development in each state of at least one major public university, the federal action gave these institutions the means by which to compete vigorously with the old-time private colleges. Eventually, as the network of agricultural extension stations gave it a secure educational and political base throughout the state, the land grant university began to influence and control other public institutions. Rudolph (1962) has summed up several other consequences of the land grant movement:

> In the end...it became the common school on a higher level; it became one of the great forces of economic and social mobility in American society; it brought the government, both federal and state, firmly into the support of higher education. In the land grant institutions the American people achieved popular higher education for the first time /p. 265/.

In a sense, the third of the instruments of change also flowed from the land grant movement. The state land grant colleges became the central repositories of the aims and spirit of the university movement. It was Johns Hopkins which, in 1876, became the first institution to adopt the German model of graduate education--commitment to science and pure scholarly inquiry. The "Hopkins spirit" soon caught on at the public state colleges, and the state institutions added graduate instruction and scholarly research to the land grant ideas. The functions of instruction at undergraduate and graduate levels, scholarly research, and public service came to mark the essentials of what we today define as a university. The land grant colleges laid the beginning of the third aim of the modern university during this period--a strong commitment to practical public service.

The Progressive Period (1900-1940)

The practical, vocational, service orientation of state universities was particularly emphasized and expanded during the "progressive" period, especially the first decade of the twentieth century. During this time, extension and service programs flourished, the leading example being the Wisconsin Idea (Cremin, 1961; Rudolph, 1962). The significance of this development is two-fold. First, public service completes the list of traditional functions assigned to public higher education, and second, the service function of public universities drew these institutions directly into the practical affairs and problems of the state. Over time, this meant that states became dependent on publicly supported institutions to serve some of their needs.

In the forty years preceding the outbreak of World War II, college and university enrollments grew rapidly. A report from the American Council on Education (1969a) shows that college enrollments which totaled 52,300 in 1870 more than quadrupled by 1900 (to 237,600) and more than quintupled by 1940 (to 1,494,200).

The progressive period, then, was one of unbounded optimism, with new levels of popularity and support for higher education. The general public saw, in the symbol of the Wisconsin experiment, the close relationship between profitable farming and university research. Higher education was seen as an essential instrument for improving society.

Consequences for Planning and Institutional Autonomy

Certain consequences for planning and institutional autonomy become evident from this very brief resumé of selected historical developments. Some of the first statewide studies were conducted near the turn of the century. In general, these studies included all levels of education, but most of the recommendations were directed to problems of primary and secondary education. The studies frequently coincided with state reform and reorganization efforts, with the result that formerly autonomous institutions, usually the teachers' colleges with their own governing boards, were consolidated under a single statewide board. In Florida, for example, a significant reorganization of public higher education occurred in 1905, when the several highly autonomous state institutions were combined and placed under the newly created governing body, the Board of Control.

In the late 1920s and the 1930s, a new round of statewide surveys and studies were made. Although some aimed at a comprehensive review of all levels of education, an increasing number of surveys dealt exclusively with higher education. The committee or commission approach to planning was followed in these early educational surveys, and numbers and expansion emerged as the central issues. The content of these early educational studies of higher education mainly reinforced and supported the status quo, in which the major land grant universities dominated the public sector.

Toward the end of the progressive period, teachers' colleges began to develop enough educational strength to question the predominance of the leading state universities, and they sought program expansions which brought into question existing legislative restrictions upon their educational mission. Thus, the objectives and purposes of various types of institutions became major sources of contention.

THE TRANSITION FROM ELITE TO MASS HIGHER EDUCATION: WORLD WAR II-1958

During the period from World War II to 1958, the development of higher education was characterized by a continuing steady expansion that took three primary forms: growth in enrollments and a rapid rise in the rate of college attendance; enlargement of existing functions and the addition of new educational programs; and the diversification of sources of support. The enlargement of the system of higher education was of such a magnitude that its more or less elite character was transformed into a system of mass higher education.

The Enrollment Growth

The twelve-year period between the end of World War I and the launching of Sputnik in 1957 was one of steadily increasing numbers of students attending the nation's colleges and universities, and during this time enrollments almost doubled, and continued to grow. Prior to the beginning of World War II (1939-40), there were 1,364,000 students in college. At the end of the war, in 1946, there were 1,677,000 students.

In the next four years, an avalanche of veterans returned to the campus, largely at the expense of the federal government under the "G.I. Bill". College enrollments swelled to a 1948 peak of 2,616,000, about 1,000,000 of these students being veterans. Even after the veteran boom expired, however, college enrollments grew steadily, and by 1957 just over 3,000,000 students were in higher education (American Council on Education, 1969a; Hofstadter and Smith, 1961). The success of the nation's colleges and universities in absorbing the influx of veterans provided the first tangible evidence of the great elasticity of the

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American educational enterprise. This elasticity was to be severely tested during the coming decade.

Since the population of youth of college age (18-21 years) was about the same in 1939 as in 1958, the general increase in enrollment during these years can be accounted for almost entirely by the increase in the rate of college-going. In 1939, about 15 percent of the college-age youth were in institutions of higher learning; by 1958 this figure was up to 33 percent (Trow, 1962; American Council on Education, 1968).

Social Forces Underlying the Enrollment Growth

The doubling of the rate of college attendance during these years was a reflection of important social forces at work, a harbinger of the current commitment toward universal higher education. The long-standing American commitment to the democratic ideal of equality of educational opportunity was slowly being implemented prior to World War II, but it was only in the years after the war that this ideal became more of a living reality. The state universities, the four-year state colleges, and the many newly established community colleges absorbed increasing numbers of the new students. Today the nation's institutions of higher education enroll over 50 percent of the college-age population.

World War II also served as a major impetus for linking the educational and occupational worlds as an integral part of a highly industrialized society. The changing nature of work meant that jobs were upgraded in skill, new technical positions were created, and the professions were expanded. The upper white-collar segment of the occupational structure became the fastest growing part (Clark, 1961), and Americans came to regard a college education as a necessity for any individual who hoped to participate meaningfully in an expanding economy.

In its broader outlines, higher education was naturally seen as a normal extension of secondary education, which had become almost universal prior to World War II. Parents who had completed high school were more aware of the visible gains in income, prestige, and social mobility that higher education could provide for their children. With the advent of inexpensive and convenient colleges, low admissions standards, and new vocational courses, college attendance was destined to increase substantially. As Trow (1962) put it, "Parents were then much more likely to encourage their children to go on to college, as part of the 'natural' progressive improvement in living standards across the generations that is so deeply a part of American values."

Emergence of Comprehensive Institutions

Along with increased enrollments, colleges and universities continued to expand their functions and to add many new programs. As the definition of college work broadened, the public service, research, and vocational-technical functions of American institutions took on new significance. Colleges and universities became multi-purpose comprehensive institutions offering a wide array of educational opportunities to an increasingly diverse student body (Martorana and Hollis, 1960; Halsey, 1961).

To meet the challenge of increased student enrollments, the United States created two types of institutions found nowhere else in the world--the two-year comprehensive community college and the four-year liberal arts college. Referring to this development, Medsker

(1960) wrote, "The two innovations, the one bringing higher education to the students' own doors, and the other offering a general education instead of professional studies traditionally associated with the university, have been primarily responsible for the unprecedented expansion of college enrollment in this country.

Comprehensive community colleges most clearly reflected the important changes taking place during this period. Vocational programs formerly handled in the high schools were incorporated into the junior college curricula, and such new fields as auto-mechanics, electronics, fashion design, and carpentry became an integral part of junior college education (Clark, 1961). Although the diverse functions unique to the community college had been recognized for some time, it was not until the post-war period that the pressures of accommodating to mounting enrollments and the variety of student needs precipitated the fulfillment of the junior college's comprehensive mission.

Diversified Sources of Financial Support

The level of support increased substantially for the nation's colleges and universities during this period. During World War II, the federal government heavily supported the scientific and defense-related work of a handful of major universities. This influx of funds had a marked effect on the expansion of graduate work and the promotion of research activities of high quality.

After World War II, the federal government continued to support higher education on a somewhat reduced level, but involved more colleges and universities in its funding. In addition, the government, through passage of the Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944 after World War II and the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952 after the Korean War (G.I. Bills), enabled millions of veterans to obtain a college education (Kerr, 1968; Conant, 1964). Kerr assessed the impact of the federal government on higher education in the following way: "The process begun by the land-grant movement reached a new height--service to science had a more profound effect than had the earlier service to agriculture and industry."

The state level of support for higher education weathered several crises in the postwar period. The veteran enrollment boom of 1946-50 placed a strain upon state resources, but was substantially offset by the federal funds made available through the "G.I. Bill", by revenue surpluses accumulated during the war years by some states, and by the full use of existing faculty and facilities. In the next three years, however, financial pressures became acute because state officials expected that once the returning servicemen's needs had been met, enrollments would significantly decrease. This reasoning failed to take into account the general increase in the rate of college attendance, which substantially offset any dwindling veteran enrollments, and because of the difficulty in convincing legislators of the need for maintaining the high appropriation levels, several states adopted formulas and more systematic budgetary procedures for measuring the needs of higher education (Miller, 1964). What must be noted about the adoption of such budgetary procedures is that they were not accompanied by any comprehensive academic plans, nor were the "needs of higher education" ever explicated as a more rational basis for allocating resources. Instead, state officials have often been led, over the years, to a reliance on such formulas as substitutes for policy decisions, even when the formulas proved to be not fully adequate to the task of accommodating to change in higher education.

During the 1950s, some form of systematic budgetary procedure was adopted by about 18 states, among them California, New York, and Florida, three of the states included in this study. In examining the evolution of such formulas, Miller (1964) concluded:

> The surprising element is not that objective measurements were developed in some states but rather that the development and general adoption of such devices has moved so slowly... This slowness clearly suggests that (a) the institutions were having considerable success in getting appropriation increases without resorting to a more objective data, and (b) there existed, and presumably still does exist, a considerable reserve of legislative good will toward, and trust in, colleges and universities /p. 12/.

This legislative goodwill diminished during the 1960s as more and more states adopted systematic budgetary procedures to control the tremendous expansion and cost of higher education. Today, most signs suggest a serious questioning of the fundamental premises of higher education, as some states reduce appropriations and introduce legislative measures to control campus disturbances.

Formation and Consolidation of Public Segments

The major structural change that occurred during the early 1950s was the formation and consolidation of segments of public colleges and universities. Although not all institutions in each state merged into segments during this time, there was a marked trend away from independent, autonomous colleges toward the concept of segments, usually composed of institutions performing similar functions.

In some cases, these segments were formed when a major state institution expanded by establishing a branch campus. In other cases, segments were created when educators and state officials agreed to divide up newly created institutions among competing segments. In still other cases, segments were formed when institutions were legally separated from the State Department of Education and given their own governing board. To state officials concerned with administrative efficiency, the formation and consolidation of public sectors represented one kind of solution to the problem of control over expanding public systems. State officials no longer found it feasible to deal individually with all the public institutions, and were looking for ways to consolidate the administration of higher education as well as reduce unnecessary competition, duplication of educational effort, and fragmentation of limited educational resources.

Two states, California and New York, provide useful illustrations of the process of forming and consolidating public segments. In California, the University of California began to rapidly develop not only the two older institutions (Berkeley and Los Angeles) but also to expand the other campuses as part of the overall system. Although the University as a segment had been in existence for over 75 years, it was during the middle 1950s that the two older institutions reached new levels of distinction, other campuses were expanded, and new efforts were launched to obtain additional campuses in the southern part of the state. Thus, the University was consolidating its educational and political strength in the state largely as a response to the impending tidal wave of students and increased competition from the state colleges. In contrast, the state colleges, still under the jurisdiction of the State Department of Education, were struggling to remove themselves from this form of control and set up their own segment. This ambition was finally realized through California's Master Plan of 1960, which proposed that the state colleges be removed from the jurisdiction of the State Department of Education and placed under the newly created Board of Trustees.

In New York, the creation of the State University of New York (SUNY) in 1948 essentially consolidated a conglomerate of institutions formerly under the direct control of the State Department of Education. Although SUNY contains several different types of institutions and presents certain problems for our concept of segment, in this historical review SUNY is considered a segment. SUNY was slow to develop in its early years, in the face of strong competition from the private institutions and less but effective competition from the City University of New York (CUNY). During the 1960s, however, SUNY's potential as a powerful segment was realized, and it has rapidly achieved national prominence.

The formation of segments marked an important change in the form of institutional competition and had significant consequences for higher education. Although vigorous competition between institutions continued, the kind of competition fostered among segments involved far larger commitments of state resources and more political involvement in higher education. For the individual institutions operating under segmental offices, it meant institutional requests had to be processed through an additional layer of organizational machinery. In almost all cases, procedures were formalized, budgets were standardized, and paper work was increased. For some segments, however, such centralization meant that institutions were able to justify their educational requests on a more reasonable basis and, in turn, to receive increased support.

The 1950s also marked a change in the balance between the private and public sectors' share of enrollments. As public higher education expanded rapidly during the decade, its share of the enrollments increased to the point where private higher education began to develop strategies to promote its interests on a collective basis. This period was marked by the development of private college associations, such as the Association of Independent California Colleges and Universities in 1955, or by changes in the purposes of existing associations. The leaders of these associations saw the necessity for organization if nonpublic institutions were to have a voice in the making of public policies regarding higher education (such as decisions about the location of new public institutions) and to be in a position to plan their future more rationally and realistically. In the decade of 1958-68, private institutions began to realize the consequences of the impending tidal wave of students, and they developed organizational mechanisms whereby private educators could formulate a broader perspective of their interests and express their goals in the face of the educational challenges of the 1960s. These mechanisms--voluntary associations--constituted the first steps toward the formation of nonpublic institutions as a viable segment in the 1960s.

Early Efforts at Statewide Coordination

The 1950s was a decade of debate about the purposes, types, and consequences of coordination for higher education. College and university administrators, professional educators, and state officials differed greatly about the educational value and practical effectiveness of coordination efforts.

Many educators feared that new forms of coordination would reduce their initiative, standardize their operations unnecessarily, and produce educational mediocrity. They argued that autonomy and competition are more educationally productive than coordination. One of the leading advocates of voluntary statewide coordination, Chambers (1961), argued strongly against the governing board and compulsory coordination approaches. In his survey of states exemplifying voluntary coordination, Chambers thought he detected a trend away from these more centralized, restrictive approaches. McConnell (1962) also supported the view that voluntary coordination could meet the need for effective planning, appropriate differentiation of educational functions among institutions, and enforcement of cooperative agreements.

On the other hand, some professional eeucators were greatly concerned about the uncontrolled spread of new educational institutions, the proliferation of specialized and often unneeded programs, and the further dilution of already scarce economic resources. These individuals saw compulsory coordination as an effective tool for promoting the overall development of higher education while preserving much of the individual institution's autonomy.

During the years 1945-1957, seven states established some type of coordinating agency. These agencies clearly reflected the debate over coordination: two boards were of the governing type, one was voluntary, and the remainder were designated as coordinating. Glenny (1959) includes a useful discussion of the differences between governing, coordinating, and voluntary types of agencies in his study of autonomy in public colleges.

When viewed in a broad historical perspective, however, this period clearly marks an important shift in the powers granted by states to these agencies. The first sixteen such boards, established between 1784 and 1941, were almost exclusively of the governing type. The succeeding period, 1959-1965, saw the establishment of fifteen additional boards, which were almost exclusively of the coordinating variety (Pliner, 1966).

Several studies conducted during the mid-1950s provided important evidence regarding the debate over coordination. In a study of "coordinating" agencies in twelve states, Glenny (1959) found that:

> The impetus for the establishment of agencies to coordinate state supported colleges and universities has in the main come from the wishes of the legislatures to economize, increase efficiency, and limit programs, or from the shortsighted, if not selfish, aspirations and concerns of individual institutions. The more positive purpose of promoting a better, more vigorous system of higher education has usually been overlooked /p. 22-23/.

Another study conducted at this time was by the Committee on Government and Higher Education of the Fund for the Advancement of Education. This committee studied the changing relationships between state governments and public institutions of higher education, its task being to identify those areas wherein state control over higher education exceeded proper limits and to recommend appropriate solutions. The two important publications that resulted from this effort, The Report of the Committee on Government and Higher Education, 1959, and The Campus and the State, 1959, documented a long list of encroachments by state governments on the affairs of public universities and colleges. Some critics, however, noted the one-sided approach of the Committee's work (Enarson, 1960; Gove, 1968), arguing that the committee consistently underplayed the positive contributions of state governments to higher education.

The committee concluded that all state universities should have constitutionally protected autonomy and that voluntary statewide coordination initiated by the institution was the best way to develop higher education. Although the reports supplied many cases where state governments, through budgeting, accounting, purchasing, and personnel controls exercised decision-making powers over state institutions, there was no discussion of the importance of planning as a mechanism for modifying such controls and fostering the positive interests of higher education.

Consequences for Statewide Planning

The social forces which formed the character of higher education during the postwar period significantly influenced the development of statewide planning and coordination.

First, the influx of over 1,000,000 veterans after 1945 had a major impact on planning. The vast number of new students was largely accommodated within the existing educational system by stretching resources and facilities to their limits. Because the problems presented by the veteran boom were so urgent, highly quantitative in nature, and considered a temporary phenomenon, the tone and style of planning that emerged was ad hoc in nature, short range in perspective, narrow in scope, unconcerned with the forms and content of educational programs, and devoted to perfecting formulas and systematic procedures for more efficient utilization of state resources.

Second, in the decade of the 1950s a wide variety of statewide planning approaches emerged. Some states relied on ad hoc groups to conduct statewide surveys and recommend higher education policies. Other states appointed statewide commissions to provide comprehensive reviews of higher education. Still other states utilized outside consultants to conduct special studies, or had the major public university prepare a statewide report. Of the variety of planning forms, the commission approach was the most frequently used, and was the one used during this period by three of the states studied--New York, Florida, and Illinois. The importance of these commissions is assessed in detail in the state chapters.

Third, regardless of the various approaches used in statewide planning, it is of special significance that the quantitative orientation of the late 1940s carried over into the next decade and set the foundation on which future studies and statewide planning would rest. The individual college or university (in some cases a segment) continued to be the major structural unit of attention; any concern for the statewide public interest was identified with the major comprehensive state university. Glenny (1959) found several years later that planning and research were still the most neglected of the basic functions performed by coordinating agencies. Thus, the perspective and methods of planning that emerged throughout higher education and the relevant state agencies was of a technical, quantitative, and fiscal nature, with a strong emphasis upon formalizing procedures, rules, and formulas. Major educational policy questions received only indirect consideration, except for those related to quantitative expansion. This orientation continued to be dominant in the planning efforts of the 1960s.

Challenges to Institutional Autonomy

The idea of institutional autonomy has a long and venerable history. The postwar period subjected colleges and universities to a set of unusual pressures which served to change the degree of their educational autonomy significantly (Perkins, 1965; Wilson, 1965). Because of the growth of enrollments, the specialization of tasks, the explosion of knowledge, and the increased usefulness of educational services and research, colleges and universities have been drawn into more pervasive relationships with society than ever before in history.

Moos and Rourke (1959) have documented some of the more flagrant instances of increasing state controls over budgets, purchasing, personnel, and sometimes educational policy. State officials increasingly went beyond their traditional concerns with educational budgets to inquire into the appropriateness of functions for an institution, the location and authorization for new institutions, the suitability of types of educational programs for certain institutions, the development of professional schools, and the relationships between institutions, both public and private. Even so, many statewide coordinating agencies were established during the early 1960s in order to remove the burdens of higher education policy-making from state offices and elected officials.

In light of the fact that the prevailing social, political, and economic forces are inevitably incorporating colleges and universities into the fabric of society, institutional autonomy is very likely to become increasingly difficult to maintain or defend. The sheer complexity of contemporary planning problems requires a perspective of the whole network in action. Whereas in the past individual institutions could set their own goals, add new programs, change admission policies, and allocate resources, the emerging pattern of organization necessitates greater cooperative and coordinated planning between colleges and universities.

GROWTH AND GREATER SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT (1958-1969)

Like most other American enterprises, colleges and universities fully adopted the growth model of success in the 1960s. The orientation to growth at the state level and the experience of two decades of almost unlimited expansion meant that each institution could expect to fulfill many of its previous educational desires if support could be secured. The central place that considerations of growth occupies in American higher education has been succinctly indicated by Clark (1968):

> Growth is necessary to meet the demands of articulate publics, and executive and legislative bodies, for more places for the young. Growth is necessary to satisfy the demands of the many clusters of faculty for more resources and personnel. Growth is seen as absolutely necessary for strength against other colleges and universities. For the administrative class in the multiversities, there is no answer other than expansion. They therefore become possessed by a logic of growth. They can wish for quality, seek quality, and of course always talk about quality; but growth is what motivates them and sets the framework for consideration of quality /p. 2/.

The last decade has marked the greatest enrollment boom in the history of higher education. In 1958, there were just over 3.2 million students in colleges and universities. According to the American Council on Education (1969), ten years later over 6.9 million students were attending college, and projections to 1976 estimate some 9.5 million students will be attending college. For a more general picture of the projected magnitude of higher education by 1980, see Tickton (1968).

What is significant about this decade is not solely the fact that enrollments doubled, but that the American system of higher education successfully accommodated over 3.5 million new students. In ten years, higher education prepared for and received more students than it had in the preceding three centuries--a remarkable achievement.

Growth also occurred in other areas. Almost 500 new institutions were established during this decade, largely of the community college type (American Council on Education, 1968). The Carnegie Commission (1968) has pointed out that colleges and universities also responded to the explosion of knowledge and the ever-broadening set of societal needs which institutions can serve:

> Instruction has increased in total duration, in curricular range, and in specialization. Research has burgeoned. Graduate and professional programs have multiplied. Colleges and universities are performing a wide variety of important public services directed toward meeting civic and social problems [p. 5].

This statement reflects a deeper consideration of the external forces which are affecting the contours of higher education during this period. Full recognition of these basic facts of growth also leads us to realize why consideration and planning are essential to the rational development of higher education.

The Impact of External Forces Upon the Development of Higher Education

In the past ten years, American higher education has been subjected to a number of significant events and pressures that have done much to shape its development. The launching of Sputnik by the Russians in 1957 signaled a major turning point in American higher education. Although numerous works critical of American education had been written during the early 1950s (Cremin, 1961), it was this international event in 1957 which galvanized American society and its educational enterprise into strong action. State officials, educational leaders, and the federal government joined together to reappraise education and redirect resources toward the scientific, technical, and engineering side of the curriculum. This national reappraisal served another important function. It dramatized the need for much more sophisticated statewide and federal planning in higher education so that the public interest and security of the nation could better be served.

The relationship of the federal government to higher education entered a new phase after 1957 (Kerr, 1968). In 1958, Congress passed the National Defense Education Act, which heavily supported training in science and initiated support for language and teacher training. In 1963, the Higher Education Facilities Act was passed, providing much needed construction funds so that colleges and universities could meet the enormous pressures generated by burgeoning enrollments. In 1965, student aid and loan programs were greatly expanded. During this time federal support increased over six times the amount provided in 1958, reaching 4.7 billion dollars. These federal programs provided much needed funds, but also generated, as Kerr (1968) put it, "a legacy of heavy dependence by all higher education on federal support and of great expectations of even more support in the future."

If the Sputnik-sponsored revolution in higher education reoriented all education in the United States, it also emphasized the manpower function of higher education. The requirements of the economy and the outputs of higher education became more closely tied together. Schultz (1961) asserted that policymakers began to understand that higher education, as an investment in trained manpower, was intimately connected with the prosperity of the economy. This was a major breakthrough from the traditions of the past. Emphasis on higher education as an investment also accelerated the growth of graduate education during the 1960s.

The professions, especially the field of medicine, also expanded greatly in the past decade. Through its Medicare legislation, the federal government initiated a number of programs designed to provide basic health service to its citizens. This federal decision meant that substantial support was available for expanding the nation's medical schools and health care facilities, building new medical schools, and providing various paramedical programs to train allied health personnel (Illinois Board of Higher Education, 1968).

In the early 1960s, the Civil Rights movement brought the attention of the nation to another aspect of the link between higher education and society at large. In the early days of the movement, some students and faculty dramatized, in the South, the problems of school desegregation and integration. In its later phases, the Civil

Rights movement questioned the implementation of equal educational opportunity throughout higher education, providing the impetus for colleges and universities to proceed beyond the policies of the past, and to develop special programs and plans for recruiting larger numbers of minority group members to the campus.

The most recent focus of attention for higher education has been the crisis of the nation's cities (Daedalus, Fall 1968). Increasingly, the universities and other educational institutions have been devoting their special capabilities and resources to a more rational and systematic investigation of the multitudinous problems surrounding the nation's metropolitan areas. Statewide planners are beginning to mobilize the best of a state's educational resources toward combatting the ever-growing list of urban ills (Birenbaum, 1968).

Expansion of the definition of higher education is occurring in other ways. Liveright (1968) has pointed out that the ideas of lifelong learning and mid-career educational programs have progressed beyond the initial experimental stages. And Carpenter (1968) concurs that adult education, lifelong learning, mid-career education, and new forms of educational technology are destined to become a much more integral part of the concept of higher education in the 1970s. Several efforts have been made recently to illuminate the contours of the future so that long-range planning for higher education can be more accurately conducted (Livesey, 1968; Daedalus, Summer 1967).

Logan Wilson (1968), President of the American Council on Education, has aptly summarized what has been happening to higher education during this period:

> In short, colleges and universities are much more affected by outside social forces than they once were. To remain viable, they can hardly escape taking into account popular conceptions about what they ought to be. Their curricula are heavily influenced by changing social and vocational requirements; their structure by the growth of collectivism and bureaucracy; their expansion, by population increases; and even their aims, by the requirements which the larger society imposes. And in a democracy, the larger society makes its basic needs and wishes felt through political mechanisms [p. 27].

The Formalization of Interorganizational Networks

The salient structural feature of this period was the formation and consolidation of state systems of higher education. The watershed years were 1960 and 1961, when many states realized that voluntary coordination and the planning efforts of the 1950s were not going to be adequate to meet the challenges of the 1960s. Thus, several industrial states either passed new legislation creating mandatory coordinating and planning agencies, or strengthened the powers of existing agencies so that they could act with respect to statewide planning, budgeting, educational programs, new institutions, and other matters involved in the development of their state's educational enterprise.

By 1965, as statewide networks of colleges and universities became more formalized, a number of important trends could be identified: Coordinating boards with a majority of community members received more substantial powers than boards composed of a majority of institutional members; coordinating agencies exercised more political leadership in formulating and advocating policies for development and expansion of higher education than in the past; federal support programs became more state-oriented than institution-oriented and were being administered by the coordinating agencies; and nonpublic colleges and universities became more directly involved in public policy-making and coordination efforts (Glenny, 1966; White, 1968).

All of these trends support the growing concern about the phenomenon of planning in interorganizational networks. In a recent statement concerning the agenda for higher education in the next decade, John Gardner (1968) put it this way:

> To make adequate preparation for them (influx of students) is going to require better planning within institutions, far better planning on a statewide level, and an attentiveness to the economics of education greater than any we have exhibited in the past. We are going to have to learn some hard lessons about planned diversity among institutions and about cooperation among institutions /p. 3/.

Such statements, calling for more sophisticated planning throughout the entire state system of colleges and universities, has important implications for the type of planning developed since World War II (see also Conant, 1964). There is no question that the basic character of state higher education has changed considerably over the past 25 years.

The Context of this Study

Ten years have elapsed since the first series of planning studies and large scale assessments of higher education appeared, and few nationwide studies of planning were made in the decade since 1959. But the year 1969 is marked by at least three major studies which reflect the new efforts to provide comprehensive assessments of this complex problem.

The first study, conducted by Lewis Mayhew (1969) for the Academy for Educational Development, is a questionnaire survey of statewide planning and coordination in all fifty states, accompanied by more intensive study of a few states. The Mayhew study provides contemporary information about the structures and practices of statewide coordinating agencies, with a focus on such matters as their legal powers and duties, board membership, scope of planning responsibilities, and number and type of institutions subject to coordination.

The second major study, undertaken for the American Council on Education under the direction of Robert Berdahl (1969), is an extensive examination of statewide coordination in 18 states which relies heavily upon interviews with policy-makers in higher education. The Berdahl study describes the variety and historical development of coordinating agencies in these states and assesses the work of such agencies in the areas of program review, federal programs, master planning, and budget formulation.

The third major study is the present one, sponsored by the Center for Research and Development in Higher Education at the University of California, Berkeley. The impact of statewide coordination and planning upon colleges and universities is studied through an intensive analysis of planning in four states, viewed in a theoretical perspective which places the relationships between colleges and universities in an interorganizational context.

III

Higher Education in California

A review of certain critical features in the development of higher education in California is necessary to an understanding of its contemporary structure. The chronology of the major events has been given in at least six important studies, written over the last 70 years,* and these earlier studies and the impact of key events are discussed in such sources as Paltridge (1966), Semans and Holy (1957), Coons (1968), and the California Master Plan (Liaison Committee, 1960). This chapter will therefore concern itself with the evolving perspectives, educational aspirations, and political positions of the four major segments of higher education--the junior colleges, the state colleges, the University of California, and the nonpublic institutions.

The Public Junior Colleges

California has led the nation in the development of a comprehensive system of junior colleges. Ever since 1907, when the legislature passed a law permitting high schools to offer education at the junior college level, California has established more junior colleges and enrolled more students than any other state. The first public junior college was established in Fresno in 1910 and by the time of the 1960 Master Plan, 62 additional junior colleges were in existence. By 1968-69 there were 90 junior colleges in operation.

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*Educational Commission of 1899, discussed in Stadtman, 1968; the Jones Committee Report to the Legislature, 1919, discussed in Ferrier, 1937; the Carnegie Commission's "Suzzallo Report," in the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1932; the "Strayer Report," in Deutsch, et al, 1948; the "McConnell Report," in Liaison Committee of the Regents of the University of California and the California State Board of Education, 1955; and Study of Additional Centers of Public Higher Education, in Semans and Holy, 1957.

Although junior colleges enrolled sizeable numbers of students during the 1920s and 1930s, their most rapid growth took place in the decade after World War II (Table 1). Fifteen new junior colleges were established between 1946-50, more than in any other comparable period, but only seven were founded in the next decade (Winter, 1964). Enrollments skyrocketed from a 1947 level of 61,000 full-time students to over 91,000 full-time students ten years later. In addition, the 63 junior colleges in 1958 enrolled 54,000 part-time students and 155,000 students in adult educational classes (Medsker). Enrollments for 1975 were conservatively projected at 251,000 full-time students, which would be approximately 40 percent of the total enrollments in the state (Liaison Committee, 1960).

The development of California's junior colleges, however, represented a long struggle to find and secure their own place in the higher education network. Over the years, junior college education has been severely fragmented in terms of governance, financial support, district organization, and educational functions.

At one time several junior colleges were under the jurisdiction and accrediting powers of the University of California Board of Regents, and various state colleges had established junior college departments

TABLE 1

California: Past and Projected Student Enrollments in Institutions of Higher Education

	Junior Colleges	State Colleges	University California	Public	Private	Total
1948[1]	55,933	22,787	43,469	122,189	44,780	166,969
1949	66,603	26,086	43,426	136,115	46,210	182,325
1950	56,624	25,369	39,492	121,485	41,036	162,521
1951	48,674	24,160	34,883	107,717	36,446	144,163
1952	52,818	25,162	33,326	111,306	33,120	144,426
1953	52,142	24,712	32,636	109,490	37,167	146,657
1954	63,019	29,487	32,563	125,069	37,847	162,916
1955	70,165	33,910	37,717	141,792	40,832	182,624
1956	74,082	38,338	37,522	149,942	42,396	192,338
1957	80,916	41,479	41,625	164,020	44,378	208,398
1958	91,162	44,528	43,101	178,791	46,824	225,615
1959[2]	90,254	49,473	42,386	182,113		
1960	99,783	56,480	46,801	203,064		
1961	112,636	64,099	51,351	228,286		
1962	121,283	71,502	55,695	248,480		
1963	128,221	80,188	61,139	269,548		
1964	152,401	92,471	67,070	311,942		
1965	188,874	98,840	76,158	363,872	84,342	448,214
1966	198,185	110,274	83,674	392,133	84,336	476,469
1967	213,496	122,426	92,295	428,217	89,729	517,946
1968	237,491	131,785	98,725	468,001	93,318	561,319
1970	282,245	149,088	113,695	545,028	100,932	645,960
1971	303,477	159,117	120,916	583,510	104,969	688,479
1972	323,802	169,696	128,270	621,768	109,167	730,935
1973	337,792	180,182	135,370	653,344	113,533	766,877
1974	355,906	190,781	142,741	689,428	118,074	807,502
1975	374,855	201,123	149,377	725,355	122,797	848,152

[1] Figures for full-time enrollments, 1948-58, are from the Liaison Committee of the State Board of Education and the Regents of the University of California. *A master plan for higher education in California, 1960-75*. Sacramento: California State Department of Education, 1960.

[2] Figures for full-time enrollments, 1959-68 and 1970-75 (projections), are from the Coordinating Council for Higher Education, *Meeting the enrollment demand for public higher education in California through 1977: The need for additional colleges and university campuses*. Sacramento: Coordinating Council for Higher Education, January 1969.

on their campuses and enrolled several thousand students in these programs (Winter 1964). Most junior colleges were connected with the public high school system in their districts, however, and the junior college leaders' strong desire to separate themselves from this system was finally achieved through the 1960 Master Plan, and was further promoted with the creation of a Board of Governors of the California Community Colleges.

Closely related to this expansion, of course, was the vastly increasing expenditures which were being funded primarily by local districts. During the 1950s, local districts contributed about 70 percent of the operating budget and 100 percent of the capital construction needs. Because enrollment pressures had strained the revenue capacities of local districts, there was by 1959 considerable interest in having the state assume more responsibility for the financial support of the junior colleges.

Historically, California junior colleges have operated under four types of district organization: high school districts that maintain junior colleges, unified districts that maintain junior colleges, junior college districts that have a common administration (boards of trustees and superintendent) with a high school or unified district, and junior college districts with a separate board of trustees and administration. This variation in local control largely reflects the various legislative acts that have established junior colleges. The trend has been toward the separate district pattern and today the vast majority of districts are of this type (Medsker and Clark, 1966).

As far back as the 1932 "Suzallo Report," there seems to have been general agreement among junior colleges about the five educational functions they would perform--general education, specialized vocational education, pre-professional education, pre-academic education, and adult education (Carnegie Foundation, 1932). A highly distinguishing characteristic of California junior colleges is that very early in their development they not only initiated a broad range of vocational and community-oriented programs, but also regarded terminal vocational education as their most important objective, "not only because of the contribution it makes to individual and social welfare, but because it is not recognized elsewhere in publicly supported schools (Deutsch et al, 1948). Subsequently, guidance and remedial education were included in the junior college mission.

Attempting for the most part to limit themselves to their basic functions, the junior colleges nevertheless expanded a great deal. For example, during the 1950s they successfully obtained legislative authority to maintain summer schools and to broaden their curricula into the fields of nursing, real estate, and air transportation. By 1959 some of the larger junior colleges were offering as many as 40 different educational programs.

The 1948 Strayer Report, released at the height of the postwar enrollment boom, tried to control one aspect of the rapid growth underway. At that time citizens in several junior college districts wanted to convert their two-year colleges into four-year institutions, partly for reasons of prestige, but also to accommodate veterans who had completed two years in their home area and wanted to continue their education without moving. It was argued that enlarging existing junior college facilities rather than constructing new four-year state colleges would save the state money.

The Strayer Committee held that the expansion of the existing 48 junior colleges into four-year institutions would destroy the unique function of the junior colleges and involve enormous expenses for the state. The Strayer Report stemmed any widespread movement to convert junior colleges, but it did not check it altogether, although the report got strong support from the state colleges and the university, which were eager to prevent junior colleges from intruding on their domains. The Strayer Report named six counties where new junior colleges should be established in the near future, and recommended that San Jose and Fresno State Colleges discontinue their junior college programs. Nine years later a study identified 17 additional areas where new junior colleges should be established if junior college facilities were to be adequate throughout the state.

Critical to the development of the junior colleges prior to 1959 was a recommendation made in the 1955 Restudy, that a division of Junior College Education within the State Department of Education be established to supply leadership and coordinate the activities of the burgeoning junior college segment. This bureau was authorized in 1957, to function until the creation of the Board of Governors of the Community Colleges in 1967.

Thus, by the late 1950s the junior colleges were still concerned with obtaining a clarification of their status within the higher education network. Those junior colleges which preferred to remain two-year institutions wanted to shed their restrictive ties to the public high school system and achieve clearcut recognition as a part of the higher education enterprise. They also wanted to secure a better foothold on lower division enrollments and to have access to information about plans the university, the state colleges, and private institutions might have for expansion. Among the junior colleges' central goals was increased state aid to offset the heavy financial burden assumed by the district taxpayer.

The Emergence of the State Colleges as a System

The story behind the development of California's state colleges prior to 1959 makes it clear that of all the segments of higher education in California, the state colleges have had the least clearly defined role, but have managed to take advantage of their "middle-man" position in the educational hierarchy by expanding in size, function, and prestige.

By the end of World War II there were seven state colleges, which in the fall of 1947 enrolled 19,300 students (Deutsch et al, 1948). The Education Code had long defined the primary function of the state colleges to be the training of teachers, although as early as 1935, the legislature authorized courses for students in fields other than teacher education so that state colleges could serve general regional needs. Ever since then, there has been an insistent drive by the state colleges to expand their mission. In 1947, the legislature broadened the functions of the state colleges to include pre-professional work, vocational education, and training in military science; in 1948 it authorized these institutions to grant a master's degree in Education; and masters' degrees in other fields soon followed.

During the 12 years after 1947, the state college segment expanded very rapidly. To meet the enrollment pressures generated by returning veterans, the Strayer Report recommended and the legislature authorized new state colleges (at first for upper division work only) in Sacramento, Los Angeles, and Long Beach, to be established by 1949. Until 1952, however, the Associate Superintendent of Public Instruction, who was also chief of the Division of State Colleges of the State Department of Education, was able to control the aspirations and expansions of various state colleges. His death constituted a major turning point for the state colleges, because at that point the state college presidents felt freer to seek university recognition and expanded operations. In 1953, the state colleges took another step in the direction they wanted to go, to the consternation of the university: The State Board of Education granted them permission to award a B.S. degree in Engineering.

At that point, many local communities began intensive campaigns to secure state colleges of their own, and in the 1955 legislative session bills were introduced to establish no less than 20 state colleges (Semans and Holy, 1957). One such Senate bill clearly reflected the political aspects of decision-making in public higher education in California; without regard to population increases, future educational needs, or the recommendations of responsible educational leaders, the bill would have established eight new state colleges, all but one to be located in the northern part of the state, where the political power of the senate then resided.

Because such local community pressure would unnecessarily proliferate state colleges beyond reasonable limits, the legislature deferred action on the creation of new institutions until the Liaison Committee of the Board of Regents and the State Board of Education could study the matter further. The subsequent 1957 _Report on the Need for Additional Centers_ did not recommend that a certain number of state colleges be established, but listed 13 areas where new state colleges would be warranted on the basis of projected enrollment needs by 1965. On the basis of this report, the legislature authorized three state colleges--at Hayward, San Bernardino, and Sonoma. A fourth state college, Stanislaus State College, in Turlock, was established as a result of political compromise between the State Board of Education and the legislature. By the time of the 1960 Master Plan, the state college segment comprised 14 campuses, with a 1958 enrollment of over 44,500 students (Liaison Committee, 1960).

During the period between the end of World War II and the 1960 Master Plan, the state colleges grew substantially in size, functions, and stature. The political influence of the state colleges also grew during this time, and by the early 1950s certain of them began to consider the possibility of becoming state universities with their own governing board, authorized to award doctoral degrees and engage in basic research. For such institutions as those at San Diego, San Francisco, San Jose, and Los Angeles, the desire to achieve the prestige benefits from being recognized as universities clearly fit in with the growing breadth and quality of their academic programs, the competence of their students, and the professionalism of their faculty. Also important in this desire for a changed status was a growing sense of antagonism between the state colleges and the State Board of Education, the Department of Finance, and other state agencies. Authority in these various groups was fragmented and often exercised in rather arbitrary ways. Coons (1968) described the situation of the state colleges prior to the Master Plan as follows:

> ...it was understandable that these institutions individually and as a sort of system had aspirations for additional recognition, prestige, and status as well as functions, for greater freedom from noneducational supervision such as was represented by the close interest of legislators in the detail of budgets, administration, and teaching, for greater opportunity for faculty research and for authority, carrying with it financial support, to grant doctoral degrees. In short, these aspirations, not left unvoiced by some State College presidents and other administrators, were to be satisfied in their minds by transforming the State Colleges into California State University to rival for funds and acclaim the prestigious, long-established (1868), world famous University of California /p. 20/.

The University of California: Protecting Rights to Educational Eminence

The state constitution, drafted in 1849, contains a provision for the establishment of a University of California; yet 19 years passed before the University of California at Berkeley became a reality. In 1868 the legislature accepted the offer by the private College of California of its buildings and lands on the condition that a "complete university" be created to teach the humanities as well as agriculture, mining, and mechanics. In the next 50 years, the University of California expanded throughout the state to include the San Francisco Medical Center in 1873, the Davis campus (initially the University Farm) in 1905, the Riverside campus (initially the Citrus Experiment Station) in 1907, the San Diego campus (initially the Scripps Institution of Oceanography) in 1912, and the Los Angeles campus (initially the Los Angeles State Normal School) in 1919. During these early years, the Berkeley campus served as the major administrative and educational headquarters for the University of California system, and the other campuses were considered branch operations of the parent campus.

From the beginning, the University of California prospered under a set of unusually favorable conditions. By the 1930s the university was clearly recognized as one of the outstanding institutions in the nation and its eminence has continued to the present (Liaison Committee, 1955; Cartter, 1966).

One of the most important features that accounts for the distinguished character of the university is its constitutional autonomy. The Constitution of California provides that:

> The University of California shall constitute a public trust, to be administered by the existing corporation known as "The Regents of the University of California"; with full powers of organization and government, subject only to such legislative control as may be necessary to insure compliance with the terms of the endowments of the university and the security of its funds...said corporation shall also have the powers necessary or convenient for the effective administration of this trust including the power--to delegate to its committees or to the faculty of the university or to others such authority or functions as it may deem wise (Article IX, 8, 9).

The 1948 Strayer Report found that this constitutional autonomy was essential to the university's distinctiveness:

> The large powers and independence thus vested in the Regents of the University account in part for the fact that it is so generally recognized as distinguished among the universities of the United States. In this connection, it is interesting to note that no state university is

> included in the usual lists of institutions distinguished by the quality of their scholarship, research, and professional work, which is not vested by the constitution of its state with authority which gives it considerable independence of the fluctuating political influences of current legislative direction (Deutsch et al, 1948, p. 37).

During the past two decades this regential independence has been invoked on several occasions to protect the university from legislative inquiries and direct political attacks, although the university has been the locus of considerable social controversy, especially in the late 1960s.

Another important factor underlying the university's eminence has been the regential and state policy to authorize and develop only one university system to serve the entire state. Competition between campuses has been minimized, and the university has been able to speak with one voice to the state and the general public. The university has also been fortunate in having vigorous and outstanding leaders both among the regents and the university's administrators. Semans and Holy (1957) cite these two factors, along with constitutional autonomy, as being the key ones which have fostered the development of the University of California and made it into one of the world's leading educational institutions. Over the years, the university also had significant political influence in the legislature, especially in the Senate, and relatively little competition for funds from the junior colleges and state colleges.

Despite these generally favorable circumstances, however, in the 15 years preceding the 1960 Master Plan, major social shifts forced the University of California to fight continually to protect its eminent domain from the developing state colleges, which directly compete for limited state support. To meet this threat, the university promoted the formation of the Liaison Committee in 1945.

The Liaison Committee, established to improve the coordination of the various segments of higher education, was composed of representatives from the university's Board of Regents and the State Board of Education, which held responsibility for the junior colleges and the state colleges. This committee also provided the general direction for the 1948 Strayer study and the 1955 McConnell report, both of which can be interpreted as major attempts by the university to arrive at a clear delineation of educational functions so that the state colleges could be contained. The 1960 Master Plan praised the work of this influential committee in these terms: "No action taken during the past half-century has had greater impact on the development and direction of higher education than has the establishment of the Liaison Committee of the two boards" (Liaison Committee, 1960). The Liaison Committee was a voluntary group, however, with insufficient authority to enforce the agreements worked out between the state colleges and the university. And the clear statements on differentiation of function in the Strayer and McConnell reports did not serve to protect the university from the continual thrusts by the state colleges for university status.

More important than the direct attempts to define the educational tasks of the public segments of higher education were the struggles to attract students and develop new campuses. Compared with the other two public segments, the university grew slowly from 1946 to 1959.

In the fall of 1947 it comprised six campuses, enrolling over 42,000 students. After the veteran boom had subsided, its enrollment during the early 1950s declined to 33,000, but climbed back to 43,000 students by the fall of 1958. From that year on, however, the state colleges enrolled more students than the university (Liaison Committee, 1960).

Because of the relatively slow enrollment growth of the university, and because of the strong community pressures expressed in the 1955 legislature for the creation of many more state colleges, by 1957 the university faced a critical test of its ability to maintain its traditional dominance. Viewed in the context of the struggle for educational power and competing community bases of support, the Semans and Holy 1957 study of the need for additional campuses took on great significance. This study recommended and the legislature authorized three new campuses for the university, two to be located in the populous southern part of the state, but none in the San Joaquin Valley, as the university had long wished. Also authorized, however, were four new state colleges, in equally strategic parts of the state. The fight over the proposed new institutions was but a prelude to the hard negotiations that were to occur during the formulation of the 1960 Master Plan.

Because the university has succeeded, since the Master Plan, in expanding into the major population centers of the state, its increased community support and political strength have more than balanced the state colleges' recent gains in these areas.

The Private Sector: Survival in the Face of the Public Juggernaut

The history of higher education in California began with private institutions. In 1851 the first private institution, California Wesleyan College (now known as the University of the Pacific) was chartered in San Jose under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In the next 50 years approximately 35 new private colleges and universities were founded, including such familiar names as Mills College (1852), University of San Francisco (1855), University of Southern California (1880), Stanford University (1885), Pomona College (1887), and the California Institute of Technology (1891) /Cloud, 1952/.

During the first half of the twentieth century, private colleges and universities educated a substantial number of California's youth. In contrast to the other three states in our study, in which nonpublic institutions enrolled well over 50 percent of the total number of students, private colleges and universities in California enrolled about 30 percent (Deutsch et al, 1948), and some of them, along with the University of California, have set the tone for educational leadership and high academic standards. Because private institutions have a great deal of freedom, they provided a much needed diversity to California higher education. Graduates of nonpublic institutions have played and continue to play influential roles in California by providing leadership in business, industry, labor, and state government.

The private sector numbered some 55 institutions and enrolled 44,000 students by 1947, and while 11 years later they had increased to 72, only 3,000 more students, about 21 percent of the total number, were enrolled in them. The nonpublic institutions' relatively static growth is particularly noteworthy because it was during this period that the public institutions were doubling in size.

Entering into negotiations for the 1960 Master Plan, many private institutions felt they were being engulfed by the expanding public sector, and that the state was both uninformed about the full significance of their educational contribution and unaware of the effect of locating new public institutions near existing private institutions.

Over the years, various steps have been taken to "protect" the interests of the private segment of higher education. The first major effort in this direction was made during the 1955 Restudy, in which private representatives participated. Not only were representatives of nonpublic institutions included on various technical and advisory committees of the Restudy staff, but the report included a lengthy section which treated the development, purposes, support, and significance of private higher education, and several recommendations included the private sectors in their scope.

The year 1955 witnessed several events which marked the development of the private sector as a more cohesive force in California higher education. Anticipating the rapid expansion of the public sector and their own rapidly rising costs, several leaders of major private colleges and universities formed the Association of Independent California Colleges and Universities (AICCU) so as to have an effective voice in the future planning and coordination of higher education, especially in the selection of sites for new public institutions. Thus the AICCU was incorporated to "conserve and further the general welfare of California's nonprofit, independent colleges and universities, and to work with all agencies of higher education and government toward strengthening collegiate education in the state." By 1967, the AICCU had 49 member institutions, which enrolled more than 78,000 students, and the organization could claim that it saved the taxpayers of the state about $150,000,000 annually (AICCU, 1967).

At approximately the same time (1955) the legislature passed an act creating the California Scholarship Commission. The AICCU was instrumental in securing this legislation, which authorized 640 state tuition scholarships at a maximum of $600 (AICCU, 1966). Since qualified students are allowed to choose the institution they will attend, the scholarship fund has become an important source of income for private institutions; in 1963-64 almost two-thirds of the students receiving state scholarships attended nonpublic institutions. By 1964, the AICCU had been successful in raising the number of scholarships to over 5,100 (McKinsey, 1968).

To the point of the 1960 Master Plan, the private sector had begun to exert its influence so that its interests could be better protected in the face of the public expansion. Yet its financial problems became more acute, and several private institutions feared that the public institutions would encroach on their traditional fund-raising sources. Thus, the problems the private institutions faced were to find ways to protect themselves from the vast public expansion and to obtain an effective voice in statewide educational policy matters.

THE 1960 MASTER PLAN: POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES IN ACTION

The Survey Team appointed in 1959 to prepare the Master Plan included representatives of every segment of public and private higher education (Liaison Committee, 1960). It worked for eight months, during which it held 30 sessions, and among a multitude of tasks, addressed itself to the following key problems and substantive issues important to the present study: differentiation of functions, coordination at the statewide level, and governance of the state colleges.

Differentiation of Functions

On July 6, the state college representative introduced a position paper, "Some Basic Points to be Considered in the Differentiation of Function Problem," which argued that the state colleges should be permitted to give the doctoral degree and to support faculty research, and made the following major points: The degree would be a teaching, not a research degree; more training facilities were needed to meet the projected demand for doctoral degrees by 1970; and faculty participation in doctoral work is essential to morale and professional advancement.

In opposition, the university representative argued that the university and private institutions have enough space to train more doctoral students; state colleges should concentrate on their responsibilities at the undergraduate level and on improving the quality of their master's degrees; and if state colleges assume university functions, the need for clearly differentiating functions and developing a coordinating mechanism would dissolve (Master Plan Survey Team, July 6, 7, and 8, 1959).

The state colleges replied that if they were to be limited at the graduate level, then the university should be limited at the undergraduate level. They also expressed opposition to the building of university campuses next to established state colleges (San Diego State College was then concerned, for example, about the university's new campus at La Jolla). To this, representatives of the university replied that admissions requirements were already high, leaving little leeway for reduction of undergraduate enrollments; the university was expanding only to absorb the same proportion of high caliber students it has traditionally served.

It seems clear that at this early stage the state colleges and the university were taking rigid positions which allowed very little room for accommodation.

State Colleges Seek a New Pattern of Governance

Structure and function were always discussed as closely interrelated issues during the deliberations of the Survey Team. In reviewing the existing pattern of governance for the state colleges, at least seven different highly dispersed and sometimes contradictory sources of authority were identified--the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the State Board of Education, the Director of Finance, the State Personnel Board, the Division of Architecture, the Public Works Board, and the Council of Presidents, composed of the state college presidents. (Interview data stressed the oligarchic nature of this council and the desire of many faculty to see its strength broken.)

On more than one occasion the state college representative, very likely influenced by the Council of Presidents, sought a separate division of State College Trustees (not a separate board with constitutional status) within the State Board of Education. A separate division of trustees was obviously more congenial to the presidents than a separate, autonomous board with a chancellor who could break their hold over the state colleges. Furthermore, by not locking the functions of the state colleges into the constitution, the way was left open to push eventually for university status. Each proposal for a separate division was defeated, however, by the Survey Team, with the university favoring a separate and constitutional board to limit the expansion of the state colleges' functions.

Early Agreements

An early report of the Survey Team to the Liaison Committee cited the following agreements:

-- That the state colleges should be freed, in part, from certain controls now exercized by such state agencies as the Department of Finance, State Personnel Board, and Division of Architecture.

-- That a modification of the present Board of Education relationship to the state colleges should be considered.

-- That current restrictions on research in state colleges ought to be changed to permit appropriate research activity.

-- That the university should make suitable provision for use of its research facilities to state college faculty and give consideration to employing state college faculty on organized research projects.

-- That both the state colleges and the university should retain lower division instruction but steadily reduce enrollments at this level.

-- That each segment should provide for liberal arts education.

-- That machinery should be modified so as to make the agreements reached between the state college and university boards more effective (Coons, 1959).

Alternatives for Statewide Coordination

Agreement on an acceptable pattern of statewide coordination was slower in coming, and in the following months five alternatives were discussed:

That a coordinating council should be established which would report to the legislature and the segments and be composed of 12 institutional executives, three each from the university, state colleges, junior colleges, and independent colleges. The executive director of the council would be a foremost researcher, but not necessarily an "educational leader."

That a coordinating council would be established which would report both to the legislature and the governor, and be composed of 12 members--a board member and two executives from the university, the State College Board, the State Board of Education, and the independent institutions.

That one agency would be established, to be called the State Board of Education, and to include two segments--Trustees of State Colleges and the Public School Authority.

That a single coordinating agency would be created above the three governing boards of the university, state colleges, and junior colleges.

That a single governing board would be established for the university and the state colleges (Master Plan Survey Team, November 1959).

During subsequent meetings of the Survey Team, a mechanism for statewide coordination was hammered out. Establishment of a council was proposed which would consist of 12 members, three from each of the segments, to include: for the university, the chairman of the Board of Regents, another regent, and the president of the university; for the state colleges, the chairman of the Board of Trustees, another trustee, and the chancellor; for the junior colleges, the chairman of the State Board of Education, the Superintendent of Public Instruction, and the president of the California Junior College Association; and for the Association of Independent California Colleges and Universities, one member of the board and two presidents of member institutions. The functions of the council would focus on the differentiation of functions, expansion of the system, and budget coordination. The voting procedures proposed in effect gave the university and state colleges control over voting on issues that dealt with their programs and plans.

An agreement was also struck regarding a governance structure for the state colleges whereby a state college system would be constituted as a public trust and would be administered by a corporate body known as the Trustees of the State College System. This, in essence, would give state colleges constitutional status and autonomy similar to the university's.

The "Summit Conference"

Although agreements on major issues were being achieved, it became evident toward the end of 1959 that neither the university nor the state colleges were particularly satisfied with the agreements. The state colleges were dissatisfied because they were not, after all, to become state universities; they would not be allowed to offer the doctorate; and faculty research would not be recognized as a legitimate function. Reasons for the university's dissatisfaction were less obvious, but they were suggested in the interview data. The story that emerged from the interviews was that the university's reluctance to make any "final agreement" was motivated by its wish to check the growing political strength of the rapidly expanding state college system. Two of three projected university campuses were to be built near established state college campuses, and the university used its vote on the Survey Team as a lever against the state colleges' resistance to these campuses. It was made clear that unless the Survey Team fully supported the three new campuses in their recommendations to the legislature, the university would not support the proposed constitutional change for the state colleges.

At this crucial juncture, a historic "summit conference" was convened in the office of the university president. Attended by the presidents of the university, a state college, and a nonpublic college, the Superintendent of Public Instruction, and an appointed university professor, the meeting was held, in one person's words, "to decide who was going to wear the crown jewels in California higher education."

The conference was interesting not only because of the final resolution achieved, but also because of the alternatives considered:

that a doctorate be awarded by the university after its faculty had examined a candidate trained by state college faculty; that some state college faculty be appointed as adjunct professors in the university; that certain state college faculty be invited to participate in doctoral seminars at the university; and, borrowing an idea from Indiana University, that a joint doctorate be conferred by the university and the state colleges (Coons, 1968).

The first three options were rejected by the state colleges, but they recognized the possibilities in the fourth. The critical question, then, for the state colleges was whether they should hold out for university status, doctoral programs, faculty research support, and constitutional autonomy, against the opposition of the university, the junior colleges, and the private institutions, or settle for the joint doctorate, with the hope of achieving university status at some later time. Claiming that the governor had promised them university status, the state colleges opted to wait for a more favorable climate, and the joint doctorate emerged as the major compromise of the summit meeting. The university was then prepared to support constitutional status for the proposed Board of Trustees for the state colleges.

The compromise achieved at this meeting actually bestowed the academic "crown of jewels" to the university, or as one member of the State Board of Education subsequently commented during their joint meeting with the Board of Regents, ". . . it preserves the integrity and the standards of the university as the standard-bearer in the pursuit of academic excellence; and it safeguards the Golden Fleece of the doctoral degree from unreasonable search and seizure" (California State Board of Education, 1959). For some state college staff, the joint doctorate meant that the state colleges had taken a major step toward becoming state universities.

Other Provisions of the Plan

In addition to the critical issues of structure, function, and coordination, the bulk of the 67 recommendations contained in the plan dealt with a variety of other subjects.

Entrance requirements were to be studied and admissions requirements for the university and state colleges were to be raised. It was recommended that probation and dismissal policies and practices be standardized, that lower division enrollments be reduced at the university and state colleges, that the number of state scholarships be increased and the stipends raised, and that a new fellowship program be created for graduate students.

Recommendations were made for increased efficiency of physical plants and for additional studies on revisions of space standards; enrollment ceilings were proposed for various types of institutions; and suggestions were made about priorities for new campuses, including how many there should be, and of what type.

It was recommended that special efforts be made to attract and hold faculty for college and university teaching, that more financial assistance be made available to graduate students, that salary and fringe benefits be expanded, and that greater use be made of in-service training programs.

It was also proposed that an estimated 50,000 lower division students be diverted from the university and state colleges to the junior colleges by 1975, that current state support for junior colleges be raised from 30 to 45 percent, and that all territory not now within a junior college district be placed in a district. And lastly, the long-standing policy of tuition-free public education in California was reaffirmed.

In sum, the Master Plan discarded the single board concept and carved out areas of interest for the segments. Although it proposed the creation of a Coordinating Council, the effectiveness of the council was curtailed by the granting of constitutional status for the state colleges, with the expected result that the two senior segments would have veto powers over council decisions.

The Plan was unanimously adopted in principle by the regents and the State Board of Education before it was presented to the legislature. Publicly, many key people committed themselves to the Plan; but there was little commitment expressed to the process of planning. During the meeting of the regents and the State Board, only one direct reference was made to the proposed Coordinating Council, indicating that continuous planning was not considered the end sought, or even a significant objective.

Mounting Opposition and Criticism

During the interim between approval of the plan by both boards and its introduction into the legislature, at least three volleys of opposition were fired. Editorials in a Sacramento paper attacked the proposed Coordinating Council on the basis that the membership of the council did not include public representatives, and that the proposed voting procedures favored public institutions that might make "deals" to help each other (Sacramento Bee, December 28, 1959). An assemblyman charged the entire plan was inadequate because many students would be denied access to institutions of higher education and the university would maintain complete control over the awarding of doctoral degrees (Sacramento Bee, February 12, 1960). And the California State Employees Association objected because the Plan contained no provisions for protecting the positions of State Department of Education employees who would be transferred to the staff of the new state college board. This concentrated opposition to the Master Plan in Sacramento was eventually reflected in the stand taken by Sacramento State College, the only state college whose faculty voted against the Plan.

Legislative Actions on the Plan

In 1960, the major parts of the Master Plan were introduced simultaneously in the Senate and Assembly as constitutional amendments, and included provision for differentiation of functions, the creation of the State College System as a public trust with an autonomous Board of Trustees, and the establishment of a 12-member Coordinating Council. Shortly thereafter, a flurry of action in the Senate essentially emasculated the constitutional amendments, including the corporate nature of the proposed trustees of the State College

System. This action was taken primarily in response to hesitancies expressed by the Legislative Analyst about proper fiscal control over the state colleges, and the strong position of one highly influential senator against constitutional autonomy for the state colleges. Anti-autonomy positions toward the state colleges were frequently attributed to earlier negative experiences with the university's constitutional prerogatives. One legislator commented during interviews in 1967:

> The junior colleges seem to worry more about their local boards, the state colleges worry about their plight relative to the university, and the university seems to report to no one but God!

That strong sentiments had emerged to block constitutional status for the state colleges meant that another major crisis and possible breakdown of the Master Plan agreements was imminent. Coons (1968) described the situation as follows:

> ...The really powerful board of trustees as provided by the Master Plan would not come to pass. The substantive elements which might go in the Constitution, except for functional differentiation, were reduced to practically nothing. The very carefully forged balance of interests would be broken. The possibility of placing the whole fabric of understanding and agreement as we had conceived in the Constitution was down the drain. The Legislature in its battle for its own prerogatives and powers was close to condemning the state of California to continued struggle over the powers of the State Colleges which otherwise would have been relatively frozen in the Constitution. It seemed to me that the Master Plan was gone... /p. 63/.

If there was to be no constitutional autonomy for the state colleges, then the state colleges would not support a constitutional provision for differentiation of functions. Although the picture looked quite bleak, a contingent of three regents met with the governor. As a result of this meeting, all present were convinced that a major effort would still be made to obtain statutory provision for differentiation of functions, although the governor would not allow the provision for differentiation of functions to be placed into the constitution. The failure at that time to gain support for a clearer definition of the educational tasks to be performed by the different institutions perpetuated the conflicts between the university and the state colleges.

Shortly thereafter, Senate Bill 33 (later renamed the Donahoe Higher Education Act) was drafted, placing all the major parts of the Master Plan in statute rather than in the constitution. Differentiation of functions was defined (providing the joint doctorate and faculty research consistent with state college functions); a State College System with a Board of Trustees was created; and a Coordinating Council, consisting of 15 members (including three public representatives added by this bill), was established. Other legislative actions relative to the Master Plan provided: more autonomy for the state college trustees than that held by the State Board of Education; more state scholarships and higher stipends; approval of two new state colleges; final authorization for the establishment of a new state college; an appropriation for faculty salary increases; and a study of space standards and utilization of instructional areas in the university and the state colleges (Liaison Committee, 1960).

"A Thieves' Bargain"

Most educators do not generally view the 1960 Master Plan as a plan. Since the Plan was oriented almost exclusively to problems of quantitative expansion, organization, administration, and procedures--what some call the means rather than the ends of education--it was seen by many not as a plan, but as "a treaty," "a compromise," "a thieves' bargain," "a cartel," "an entrenchment of the status quo." A few quotations from interviews clearly illustrate this point:

> ...The Master Plan didn't have any guts, it wasn't imaginative, and it didn't consider the important academic questions. There were no recommendations in it concerning academic programs. Therefore, it has had very little effect and any impact it might have had has been deleterious...
> (university faculty member)
>
> ...The Restudy had teeth...The Master Plan is nothing more than a series of compromises...
> (state college administrator)
>
> ...I'd say we've not really had any planning in higher education but political agreements...a settling of old scores among politicians. Maybe it would hold for five to ten years. By and large, the Master Plan is neither a plan nor does it represent any real progress for higher education...
> (a legislator)
>
> ...Statewide planning should take a look at the total resources available to a state and design a method by which these resources can be distributed equitably to satisfy agreed upon goals. Nowhere in the Donohoe Higher Education Act does this approach come through. The Act does not take recognition of what resources are available and does not show us how they will be matched to our goals. The Donahoe Higher Education Act was a statutory sanctification of the status quo...
> (a legislator)
>
> ...This Master Plan is conceptually good, but it is encased in concrete. The plan has been used as an excuse to do or not to do many things--a coverup for both sides to legitimize their actions...
> (a staff member of the Coordinating Council).

> ...The Master Plan was a supreme act of appeasement. It defined the status quo and put it into law... (a legislator)

> ...The Master Plan is nothing more than a treaty. It's really not so much a plan as a statement about the structure for higher education. It doesn't deal with the educational process. It's just a legislative statement... (a university administrator)

In defense of the Master Plan, it can be said that given the conditions that led up to it, and the short period of time in which it was developed, it is not surprising that structure and educational boundary disputes between the segments became the almost exclusive interests of the Survey Team. Their failure to attend to the more academic matters which are also appropriate for discussion at the state level is understandable, and the matters on which they did expend so much energy and expertise are still fundamental issues of critical importance. However, other issues and problems have arisen in higher education since then, and an over-identification with the Master Plan, coupled with a lack of continuous comprehensive planning at the state level has contributed to the magnitude and intensity of current problems.

CONTEMPORARY STRUCTURE

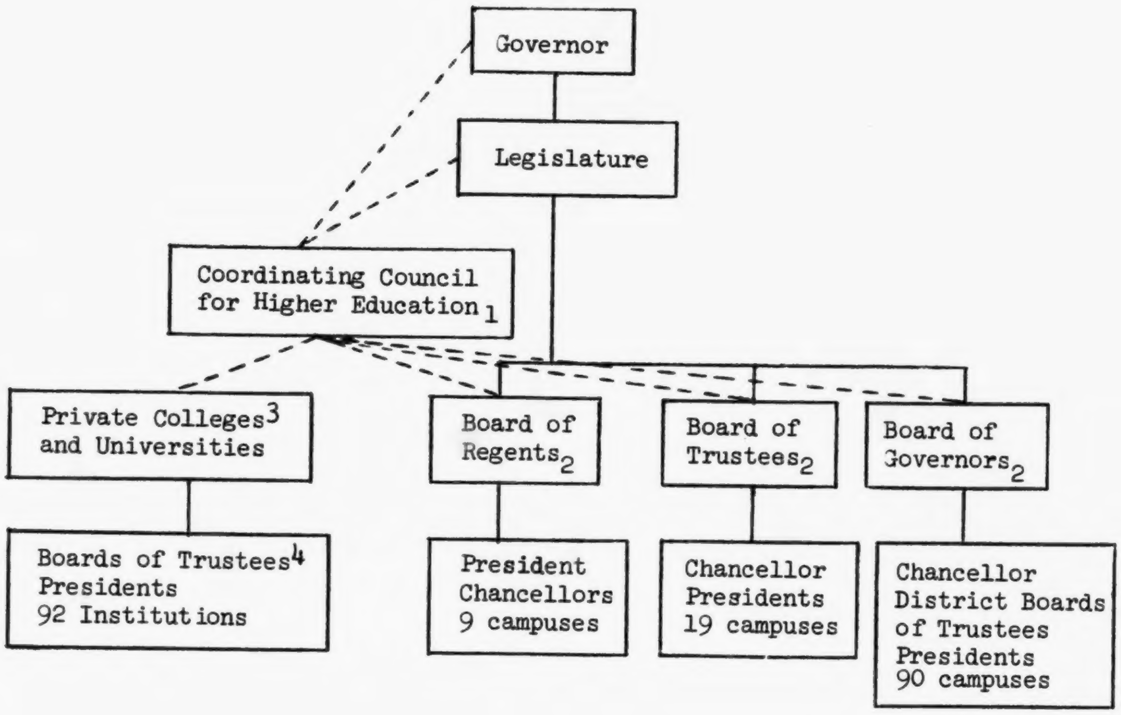
The organizational structure of higher education in California is shown in Table 2. The composition and duties of the various boards are as follows:

Coordinating Council for Higher Education

The Council was created by the Donahoe Higher Education Act of April 1960. Originally composed of 15 members, with three

TABLE 2

Contemporary Structure of California Higher Education


Governor
Legislature
Coordinating Council for Higher Education 1
Private Colleges 3 and Universities
Board of Regents 2
Board of Trustees 2
Board of Governors 2
Boards of Trustees 4 Presidents 92 Institutions
President Chancellors 9 campuses
Chancellor Presidents 19 campuses
Chancellor District Boards of Trustees Presidents 90 campuses

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[1] The Coordinating Council has only advisory powers with respect to program approval, admissions standards, statewide planning, and budget requests. It does, however, administer designated federal aid programs.

[2] The three public boards are responsible for the governance of the institutions under their jurisdictions. Only the Board of Regents has constitutional status, i.e., full powers over the organization and management of the university.

[3] The private colleges and universities have representation on the Coordinating Council and are an integral part of the higher education network.

[4] This figure includes both accredited and nonaccredited institutions. Forty-eight accredited four-year institutions are members of the Association for Independent California Colleges and Universities (McKinsey and Company, 1968).

representatives each from the University of California, the state college system, the public junior colleges, the private colleges, and the general public, in 1965 the membership from the general public was increased to six. The university is represented on the council by its president and two members of the Board of Regents, appointed by the regents. The state college system is represented by its chief executive officer and two members of the Board of Trustees, appointed by the trustees. The junior colleges are represented by their chief executive officer and two members of the Board of Governors, appointed by the governors. The private colleges and universities are represented by three persons, each affiliated with a private institution of higher education as governing board member or as a staff member in an academic or administrative capacity, and appointed by the governor after consultation with an association or associations of such private institutions. This provision was changed in 1965 to make the governor's appointments subject to Senate confirmation. The members from the general public are appointed by the governor and subject to confirmation by the Senate, and the governor also appoints the members of the Board of Regents, Board of Trustees, and Board of Governors. The governor's influence over the Coordinating Council can be considerable, since he has direct appointive power over nine of its 18 members.

The Coordinating Council has the following legal functions which are advisory to the governing boards of the institutions and to the appropriate state officials:

> Reviews the annual budget and capital outlay requests of the university and the state college system and presents the general level of support sought.

> Advises about the application of the provisions of the section of the Education Code which delineates the different functions of public higher education and counsel as to the programs appropriate to each segment thereof. Submits to the governor and to the legislature within five days of the beginning of each general session a report which contains recommendations as to necessary or desirable changes, if any, in the functions and programs of the several segments of public higher education.
>
> Develops plans for orderly growth of public higher education and makes recommendations on the need for an allocation of new facilities and programs.
>
> Has the power to require the institutions of public higher education to submit data on costs, selection and retention of students, enrollments, plant capacities, and other matters pertinent to effective planning and coordination. Furnishes information concerning such matters to the governor and to the legislature as requested by them.

The council also has been designated as the state agency for administering several federal aid programs for higher education. Its staff consists of approximately 40 persons, half of whom are professional personnel, and its operations are funded by both state and federal monies. The state's contribution is somewhat in excess of one-half million dollars (Office of the Legislative Analyst, 1968).

Board of Regents (The University)

The University of California is governed by a Board of Regents consisting of 18 members appointed by the governor for 16-year terms of office, and the following eight ex-officio members: governor, lieutenant-governor, speaker of the assembly, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, president of the State Board of Agriculture, president of the Mechanics Institute, president of the Alumni Association of the university, and president of the university. The Board of Regents is endowed by the state constitution with full powers to organize and govern the university (Article IX, State Constitution). Throughout most of its history, the university has been characterized by considerable centralization of administrative authority on the statewide level rather than on local campuses. Some evidence of a reversal of this trend emerged in the early 1960s, when considerable effort at decentralization was made (cf. section on "System Integration").

Board of Trustees (the State Colleges)

The 1960 Master Plan recommended and the Donahoe Act authorized the creation of a single governing board to be known as "The Trustees of the State College System of California." Since then the Board of Trustees has performed functions roughly analogous to those of the university's Board of Regents. The trustees were not granted constitutionally-guaranteed powers similar to those of the university's regents, however, and thus far in its short history the trustees have not played as powerful a role in governing the state colleges as the regents in administering the university.

The Board of Trustees consists of 16 members appointed by the governor for eight-year terms, plus the following five ex-officio members: governor, lieutenant-governor, speaker of the assembly, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and chancellor of the California State Colleges. The trustees set broad policy for the colleges while delegating to the chancellor the responsibility for implementation at local campus levels.

Board of Governors (the Community Colleges)

In 1967, the California legislature enacted a law which created a Board of Governors of the California Community Colleges, to be composed of 15 lay members. On July 1, 1968, this board succeeded to all the duties and responsibilities with respect to junior colleges that were previously vested in the state Board of Education and the superintendent of public instruction. Local governing boards continued to have the same legal responsibilities which they had prior to July 1, 1968. Legislation also directed the Coordinating Council to undertake a study on the appropriate functions which should be performed by the local school boards and the Board of Governors with respect to the junior colleges. In general terms, the council's study recommended that academic master plans first be developed by local junior college boards and then reviewed and approved by the Board of Governors; that the state board assume major leadership responsibilities in coordinating and encouraging inter-district, regional, and statewide developments of junior college programs and facilities; and that community college boards continue to have the major responsibility for the administration of the colleges.

The Association of Independent California Colleges and Universities (AICCU)

Of the more than 90 private and independent colleges and universities in California, 48 of the accredited institutions are members of AICCU. The association, formed in 1955, focuses on state scholarship and fellowship programs, government-sponsored student loans, tax proposals affecting higher education, standards for degrees, establishment of new campuses, and similar matters. More recently the association has moved into a more active role in encouraging comprehensive long-range planning at the various campuses of its member institutions (AICCU, 1968), and is exploring a number of cooperative arrangements, such as joint programs of student health and accident insurance.

CRITICAL DECISIONS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

No substantive educational goals were set for higher education in the 1960 plan, and the work of the Coordinating Council has not resulted in any clearer conception of statewide goals for higher education. Comprehensive statewide planning has not been done in higher education in California since 1959 for several reasons: the heavy concentration of institutional representatives on the council; the statutory definition of the council's role as primarily advisory; and the view that the 1960 plan was to last for from 10 to 15 years. However, although the Coordinating Council has not exercised a goal-defining role, it has periodically contributed to planning through doing cost and space utilization studies, formulating program budgets, and becoming involved in education for the disadvantaged and the development of the Board of Governors for the junior colleges.

Goals for the Segments

The bases for differentiation of educational functions were established for the public segments of higher education in the Strayer Report of 1948, subsequently reaffirmed in the 1955 McConnell Report, and legally defined in the 1960 Donahoe Higher Education Act (Table 3). A number of questions, however, were left unanswered, for example:

TABLE 3

Functions of the Public Higher Education Segments*

	Junior Colleges	State Colleges	University
Primary function	Instruction	Instruction	Instruction and research
Type of program	Transfer, vocational/technical, and general or liberal arts	Liberal arts and sciences; applied fields and professions, including teaching	Liberal arts and sciences and professions, including teaching; exclusive jurisdiction in the profession of law and graduate instruction in medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine, and architecture
Level of institution	Lower division only	Undergraduate and graduate, through the masters degree, in the liberal arts and sciences, in applied fields and in the professions, including the teaching professions; joint doctorate with the university in selected areas	All levels
Research function	No mention	Research consistent with the primary function of instruction	All types

*Adapted from the Donahoe Higher Education Act, Section 22500 (Division 16.5), Education Code, State of California.

To which segment should technical or vocational programs that require more than two years of instruction be assigned? Should junior colleges and other institutional types be defined in terms of the length of their program, or in terms of the particular type of instruction offered regardless of the time required by a full-time student to complete a program? In what ways is the liberal arts and science program, curriculum, or emphasis the same or different in junior colleges, state colleges, and university? What, if any, research function would be appropriate for junior colleges? What is meant by "research consistent with the primary function of instruction," and how is this type of research similar to or different from the research undertaken at the university? Since relatively little leeway is provided to accommodate fundamental changes in existing institutions and to assimilate new functions, upon what statement of goals and objectives for higher education in California is this division of labor among the public segments based?

Long-Range Planning by the California State Colleges

One of the bonuses claimed for the state colleges was the establishment by the Master Plan of continuous planning, coordinated and guided by the Board of Trustees and the Chancellor's Office. Over the years, the long-range plans for the state colleges have relied heavily upon the statutory definitions of their functions. Planning for the state colleges as a segment has not specified particular goals and objectives; the different plans for the state colleges represent little more than a compilation of each institution's programs and activities.

In late 1961, the trustees launched their first approach to planning by requesting the development of a Master Curricular Plan for the entire segment. Although the plan was rushed through to completion in six months, and without full participation by faculty members, it did identify areas of special strength in the individual colleges. Many college representatives objected because they felt that areas left unidentified were by implication made to sound weak, and Odell (1967) gave the following reasons why this initial planning effort was strongly resented:

> The principal objections to the plan were that: 1) not enough time had been given for the development; 2) development of curriculum is the responsibility and prerogative of the faculty of each college; 3) in the preparation of the plan, involvement of faculty was altogether inadequate; and 4) the final document was imposed on the college by the Chancellor's Office and developed without adequate knowledge of the campus scene. It was suggested that the Trustees and the Chancellor's Office either did not understand or did not wish to practice proper consultation with the colleges and the faculties [p. 144].

The final, modified Master Curricular Plan, approved some eight months later, set forth the broad liberal arts and sciences foundation program for all state colleges. The trustees delegated to the chancellor the power to approve bachelor's degree programs initiated within these areas (Office of the Chancellor, 1968).

Because of the furor over the Master Curricular Plan, the Chancellor's Office devised a new approach to academic planning. In Phase I, each college would develop its own five-year Academic Master Plan, which would include proposals for degrees to be established during the period, each such plan then to be reviewed by the chancellor and approved by the trustees.

What is significant about this concept of academic planning is that the initial focus is exclusively on current and projected curricula, and that there is a linkage to other key ways in which the individual plans can be converted into more comprehensive plans for the segment as a whole. In the 1966 plan (Phase I) for the state colleges, this expected comprehensiveness was expressed by the Chancellor's Office (1966) as follows:

> Academic master plans are tentative projections of additional degree programs, arranged by years according to their earliest anticipated introduction, on the basis of consultation between faculty and administration on the respective campus and further consultation and review with the Academic Planning staff in the Chancellor's Office. The chief gains of academic master planning are that each college examines its curricular future comprehensively and determines a reasoned order of curricular development, and that the Trustees--satisfied that both the planning and the implementation of degrees are adequately safeguarded--can free themselves from the task of seeking to analyze and justify the details of separate degree proposals. Additional benefits which may be expected to result from an approved academic master plan include that facilities planning can be more closely correlated with curricular planning; that students can be more realistically counseled with regard to the availability of undergraduate and graduate degree programs; that the recruitment of faculty can be aided by and geared to projected degree programs; and that library development can be planned with reference to anticipated instructional needs [p. 4].

Both the 1967 and 1968 extensions of the academic plans set forth in Phase I report this same concept and planning procedure. Yet neither report goes beyond the more limited definition of curricular planning offered nor cites evidence to show how the state colleges are integrating these plans with planning for facilities, counseling, faculty recruitment, and library development. It is, in fact, a concept of planning which, by allowing each college maximum freedom to initiate and develop programs, can foster excessive, unnecessary, or duplicative efforts throughout the segment.

As a result of this form of planning, the issue of unnecessary duplication has become a major one. Illustrative of the concerns voiced by several persons in the state colleges and state agencies are these comments:

> ...the Chancellor's Office has not had enough backbone to lay out the 'right' programs in the 'right' places for the state colleges and then sell their plans to the Trustees. They should advise and force institutions to develop or delete certain programs. For example, California State at Turlock should have developed a curriculum emphasizing agriculture. Turlock is the turkey capital of the nation and could likely use degree programs on poultry husbandry. Instead, Turlock has developed just like any other state college. The position of the Chancellor's Office seems to be, 'You tell us what you want to do and we'll help you do it.' Instead, the Chancellor's Office should work closely with campuses and pressure them into certain directions. Unfortunately, any efforts of this sort have stopped as soon as the flak occurs...
>
> (an administrator)
>
> Chemical engineering programs were added at Long Beach, San Luis Obispo, and San Jose campuses when no obvious need existed. Where is academic planning? It isn't even relevant since these were nothing short of political decisions...
>
> (Coordinating Council staff member)

Indicating a strong awareness that a more comprehensive planning effort needs to be developed to control the rapid growth of new programs, in 1968 the Academic Senate of the California State Colleges recommended to the trustees that the chancellor investigate those areas in which proliferation or unnecessary duplication exists, and the state legislature also requested the Coordinating Council to undertake a similar study of high cost programs so that a better differentiation of functions can be developed for the public segments of higher education (Office of the Chancellor, 1968).

Long-Range Planning by the University of California

Although the University of California's planning activities predate the Master Plan, attention will be focused on planning efforts made since 1960. Like the state colleges, the long-range plans for the university rely heavily on the statutory definitions of their respective functions. While the 1966 University Plan offers a number of abstract statements about achieving excellence in teaching, research, and public service, it turns its attention more specifically to the problems of growth and projections of future degree programs.

The comments of a statewide university administrator, made in an interview in 1967, clearly pointed up the lack of sufficient attention to the definition and specification of segmental goals.

> ...Let me say at the outset that the University has failed miserably to develop a clear statement of goals and long-range educational objectives. In the absence of serious effort to define goals, the mechanics of budgeting will impose certain answers on us. I anticipate a much greater concern to match resources invested to outcomes accomplished. Faculty and administrators don't seem to appreciate the growing need for us to justify our existence to the legislature and state offices. Thus far, higher education has made defensive moves, showing very little leadership...

In early 1969, the university presented a new ten-year academic plan which differs from earlier academic plans in that its stated purpose was "to furnish the conceptual basis, in broad terms, for planning the continued growth and development of the university, and to set forth the major educational policy considerations that should guide decision-making for the university's future" (Office of the President, 1969). In the section on functions and goals, the legal functions clearly assigned to the university are reiterated and the university's primary goal is stated as follows:

> ...to carry out its functions--instruction, research, and public service--with distinction, and on a scale commensurate with the needs of the State; and the purpose of the University's academic, physical, and fiscal planning is to provide an environment that will make it possible to attain this primary goal. The academic plan attempts to outline those elements that are essential to such an environment from the point of view of educational policy [p. 2].

It is clear from an examination of the 1969 plan that the university develops its interests more carefully than the state colleges attend to theirs. A focus on segmental concerns is shown in the university's conception of its relationship to the urban crisis. In October 1968, the president of the university announced the development of an Urban Crisis Program, with a five-year budget, calling for an expenditure of $40,000,000 on central city projects in addition to funds for financial aid to disadvantaged students. The general purpose of the Urban Crisis Program, for "improving the situation of the poor and educationally disadvantaged, including the minorities of urban and rural California," will focus on employment, physical and social environments, health and medical programs, education, and local and regional governments. Providing, as it does, much more detailed information and justification for the future development of various parts of the overall mission, the university's 1969 plan is a significant improvement over the 1966 plan.

The picture of long-range planning in California with respect to educational goals is a mixed one. Although broad legal definitions of functions exist for the three segments of public higher education, the junior colleges presently have no system-wide plan, and the local districts are now preparing more comprehensive academic plans. The state colleges have proceeded through three phases of academic planning, but their plans are limited to curricular programming and are not based on clear statements about goals and objectives. The university's planning reflects several fundamental premises about the nature of this kind of institution, and the 1969 version is a significant improvement over past plans, but the working relationship of academic, fiscal, and physical plans remains vague for both the state colleges and the university.

Several important historical facts provide a background for interpreting the differences between the state colleges and the university with respect to planning. Originally conceived of as an integral administrative unit with a central staff and developed branches throughout the state, the university-wide administration has enabled the regents from the beginning to plan more systematically for the overall development of the segment, whereas a central office for the state colleges was a creation of the 1960 Master Plan. The state college segment still has not fully overcome its long history of being a collection of independent campuses, each planning separately without regard to segmental needs. Part of the failures of the 1962 Master Curricular Plan resulted from the difficulties of achieving an organization geared to more than the interests of individual institutions.

The university's constitutional autonomy and greater fiscal flexibility have also facilitated its efforts toward more comprehensive planning, since it can more quickly develop new programs and allocate needed funds without restrictions at the state level. The state colleges, on the other hand, have been saddled with a line-item budgeting system that requires continuous justification and paperwork, and reduces the possibilities of long-range planning.

While historically and legally the university has had a broad definition of goals and a most permissive environment in which to plan its future, the state colleges only recently have evolved from a highly restrictive view of narrow goals.

Institutional Differentiation

Concern about the issue of institutional differentiation rests on the assumption that no one institution "can be all things to all people," and that therefore each institution must contribute to the overall goals of its segment in some particular way. Within broadly conceived agreements, the primary missions and roles of institutions of the same generic type should vary. It is important to know not only what differences exist between institutions with respect to their mission and role, but also how the decisions to effect the differences were arrived at. Generally speaking, the University of California has had the greatest success in achieving planned differences between its several campuses. Differences do exist between the state colleges, but these are more the result of circumstance than of purposive planning, and the similarities and differences between the junior colleges also are more the result of variations in leadership, participation, and community settings than of any planned differentiation on a segment basis.

Junior Colleges--Differentiation by Community Setting

Two important features of California junior colleges are their long history of agreement on the core functions of their comprehensive mission and role, as can be seen from the several statewide studies and surveys dating back to the early 1930s and their very early incorporation of vocational-technical programs into their curriculum.

Today, California's burgeoning junior college system presents a set of complex issues and problems related to intrasegmental differentiation, because the massive expansion of this system since World War II has been accompanied by only a loose pattern of statewide coordination, executed by the State Department of Education. The junior college's pattern of financing is and has been primarily local, which rests the major locus of authority at the community level. Vocational, technical and adult education programs are created mainly to serve local needs, which differ in different areas, and this establishes one of the major bases for differentiation within the junior college segment. Transfer programs, on the other hand, must be shaped primarily in terms of *ad hoc* "agreements" between the junior college and the state college or university in a given area. Only minimal leeway is possible toward the end of "individualizing" junior colleges.

The combination of a loosely federated pattern of statewide coordination controlled mainly at the local level, a general definition of functions provided in the Donahoe Higher Education Act, and the absence of any plan for building systematic differences and similarities made for an overgrown and undifferentiated system. This has been applauded by some but seriously criticized by others. For example, one junior college administrator states his concern about the development of vocational-technical programs as follows:

> ...We need better coordination at the statewide level of the technical vocational programs. These shouldn't be planned as such at the state level because the junior colleges would lose their local orientation. But there should be some attempt to eliminate the duplication of high cost technical programs in neighboring districts. These programs should be coordinated within regions...

Some hold that the legal restriction on junior colleges to limit themselves to two-year programs should be reexamined. In the words of one junior college administrator:

> A recent area of conflict at the statewide level has been over the jurisdiction in relation to programs of more than two years but less than four. Some technical-vocational programs, for example, are now being extended to three years. A case in point is the area of para-medical vocations. The state colleges are trying to take over this area and the junior colleges are fighting for it. A redefinition at the statewide level is needed to establish permanent jurisdiction for handling such programs.

A staff member of the Coordinating Council had some strong opinions about the three-year program issue:

> ...A difficult area is who should offer the three year programs. By law, junior colleges cannot offer courses beyond the 13th and 14th grade levels. But this is wild! At a recent articulation conference, it was said that junior colleges can offer *expanded* curriculums but not *upper division* courses. This is ridiculous!

One possible exception to the lack of a planned approach toward differentiation is the cooperative planning engaged in by a number of districts for the exchange of students in vocational programs.

The new Board of Governors, created in 1967 to coordinate and plan for junior colleges on a statewide basis has met with a mixed response: Some anticipate more state controls, requirements, and greater standardization; some see advantages stemming from a stronger voice for the junior colleges within the legislature and a greater impetus for planning at the local campus level; and some point out that creation of the board helps to further establish the junior colleges as part of higher education. Many regarded the control exerted by the state college board as being more extensive than the control they wanted for the junior colleges. However, only after the board has been in operation for from three to five years can any of the fears and projections be validated by data.

State Colleges--Differentiation by Accretion

Several interviewees emphasized the extreme similarity of the 19 state colleges and cited this as a major contemporary weakness of the system. During the first years of operation under the Board of Trustees, the Chancellor's Office tried to establish differentiation, planning that certain campuses would concentrate on the humanities, others on the natural sciences, some on agriculture-related curricula and programs, and still others on the social sciences (Master Curricular Plan, 1962). This "plan," however, was defeated by local faculties and administrators, who held that a strong arts and sciences college required full development in all areas. Replying to this point, a member of the Coordinating Council's staff commented:

> ...I think it would be possible for each state college to be unique through their student admissions policies. I also think that strong departments in every discipline should not be built or attempted to be built on each state college campus. Instead, there should be strong math departments at only certain campuses and students should be selected according to the particular disciplinary emphasis on the campus.
>
> ...State colleges argue that they are regional centers and must meet all students' needs within their region. This isn't true. I've checked this out. There are many students that come from outside their regions.

The present policy of the Board of Trustees is that each of the state colleges be granted a basic core (broad foundation studies) in the humanities, natural sciences and mathematics, social sciences, and other fields such as teacher education, business administration, and physical education approved by the chancellor, and each of the campuses may develop undergraduate programs in each of these disciplines. Approval for other undergraduate programs and graduate programs, primarily at the master's level, requires the preparation of a proposal by the initiating campus, describing the proposed program and including information about need, the context in which it would be given, and resources (Office of the Chancellor, 1967). A number of interviewees felt that such guidelines and procedures, rather than encouraging diversity, tend to promote similarity and uniformity. Some talked about broader conceptions and more general alternatives which would permit the mix of students, curriculum design, and methods of instruction to be tailored to the forte or special competence of an institution's faculty, students, and administrators.

Both Phase II and Phase III of the State College Academic Plan provide evidence of emerging differences between the state colleges. For example, like the university, the state colleges also have been directing attention to urban problems, and one such effort of major proportions is the "urban focus" of the State College at Los Angeles. In 1967-68 a special Committee on Urban Affairs proposed a new urban affairs structure for the college, and 14 special programs on various facets of the urban situation have been initiated.

In addition to this distinctive focus of the Los Angeles campus, ten state colleges now operate experimental colleges. The 3/3 Plan of the San Bernardino campus is especially noteworthy in this respect, and in 1968, San Jose State College began its New College, a coeducational residential enterprise designed to overcome the impersonality of the large campus. The new Bakersfield campus will contain living-learning and living-study centers, and the Sacramento campus is developing a World Affairs Center. Humboldt State College emphasizes education in natural resources with a unique set of programs in this area (for further details of the distinctive aspects of various state colleges, see the report from the Office of the Chancellor, 1968).

Despite the state colleges that do have a distinctive focus or are building a special educational program, time and again interviewees expressed anxiety over the large number of fiscal and administrative constraints which block efforts at innovation, and faculty almost unanimously cited specific instances of frustration. Yet four state colleges--San Francisco, San Jose, Los Angeles, and San Diego--

with the same mission and role as the other state colleges, are frequently mentioned as having achieved substantial results and a distinctly different quality of education under the same set of fiscal and administrative constraints. Persons interviewed at these colleges provided some insights into their operations:

> ...Our institution always pressed the limits within the Chancellor's Office. We want to strain the rules in whatever ways they possibly can be strained. For example, we wanted a cultural and communications center...this requires good financial support, support that is consistent with the goals of the program. Rather than our accepting the facilities standards that the chancellor's office uses, we set out to obtain certain types of facilities that we thought were needed for the program. We had direct negotiations with the Department of Finance; the Chancellor's Office and trustees served as interpreters during these negotiations. And, we got what we wanted!
>
> ...Many persons, deans and faculty, are willing to fight to get what they want. One sort of inside strategy we've used is to rough-in many features of laboratories, say, into large lecture rooms. Then, shortly after the building is up, we would convert the lecture area into the laboratories we originally were after.

In addition to whatever these statements may suggest about motivations to "test limits," these four institutions are also favored by their location on the coast, their situation in large metropolitan areas, and their access to a concentration of legislative contacts and key people in business and industry.

The "General Campus" Controversy

The university's campuses have probably achieved more diversity than any of the other segments of public higher education in California. Much of this impetus for campus differentiation was provided by the university's academic plan; A Recommended Plan for Growth of the

University of California, adopted in 1960, proposed that all campuses of the university be "general campuses" (with the exception of the San Francisco Medical Center) and that provision be made for "specialized branch facilities" attached to general campuses. Six years later, however, the statement on "specialized branch facilities" was modified to read, "All campuses will be developed as general campuses" (Office of the President, 1966a).

Differentiation between the university's campuses still remained a basic principle in the 1966 plan; the goal was specialized by campus in subject matter, instructional programs, library collections, and research projects. Also, new campuses were projected and their respective roles or types of possible specialization were indicated. For a new general campus in San Francisco,". . . the concept of man as a biologic entity and of the city as a meaningful unit" might be stressed. In comparison, an additional campus in the central area of Los Angeles could stress ". . . an academic organization directed toward apprenticeship educational experiences." The mission and role of the existing nine campuses are detailed in the university's 1966 Academic Plan. These can be briefly summarized as:

> Berkeley: The oldest campus of the university, with a full complement of research and teaching programs in the natural sciences, humanities, social sciences, arts, and the major professions. Future development will focus on intensive rather than extensive growth.
>
> Los Angeles: From its beginnings as a normal school to a full-blown university, this campus has programs that include undergraduate and graduate studies and research in all the major arts, letters, and sciences, as well as professional schools in a number of areas, including a medical school. Special achievements have been made in such programs as the health sciences, the fine arts, language and area studies, and science and engineering programs geared especially to the electronics and aerospace technology.

Santa Barbara: Serves as headquarters for the University Education Abroad Program, which maintains eleven centers in countries around the world. In addition to programs in the letters and sciences, there are professional schools of Education and Engineering, as well as a rapidly expanding Graduate Division.

Davis: Traditionally this campus has emphasized research and teaching in agriculture. In 1959, however, it was designated as a general campus, and now has a College of Letters and Science, Graduate Division, College of Agriculture and School of Veterinary Medicine, College of Engineering, Law School, and a recently added School of Medicine.

Riverside: The center for agricultural research and instruction in Southern California, with a College of Letters and Science, School of Engineering, and Graduate Division. The campus administers the Desert Research Institute, the university-wide Air Pollution Research Center, and the Dry-Lands Research Institute.

San Francisco: Known as the San Francisco Medical Center, this campus offers programs of instruction and research in medicine, dentistry, nursing, and pharmacy. It also has teaching programs in several paramedical professions and in allied biomedical fields.

San Diego: One of the newer campuses (1964) of the university, this campus is based on the "cluster college" concept: Each of the four colleges has a distinctive academic emphasis and includes both undergraduate and graduate students. Undergraduate students take approximately two-thirds of their total requirements in one college. Includes one of the university's five medical schools.

Irvine: Opened in 1965, with an emphasis on independent study, programs designed for individual students, and interdisciplinary curricula. The campus is organized into a College of Arts, Letters and Science, with Divisions of Biological Sciences, Fine Arts, Humanities, Physical Sciences, and Social Sciences. Professional schools include Engineering, Administration, and Medicine.

Santa Cruz: Admitted its first students in 1965, and is organized around a series of residential colleges. Eventually there will be 20 to 30 of these colleges, enrolling between 400 and 1,000 students each. Presently the campus has divisions in the Humanities, Social Sciences, and Natural Sciences, School of Engineering, and Graduate Division.

The "general campus" concept is a major point of contention between the university and some members of the Coordinating Council, with the council seriously questioning the financial feasibility of the university's plan to develop all its units as general campuses. While the university denies that it intends each campus to have a comprehensive range of programs and research, a fully developed rather than a specialized library, and a wide variety of research centers and institutes, it is nevertheless true that they have only minimally defined "general campus." There is considerable uncertainty about how inclusive the concept is and how it squares with the other university view that each campus will also specialize. Obviously, no two campuses would ever be "identical," but the continued expansion and development of each campus suggests that they may become more and more similar as schools, colleges, divisions, and research centers are added.

SYSTEM INTEGRATION

Although proposals for greater administrative integration constituted some of the significant features of the Master Plan, the plan gave almost no attention to joint academic programs, except for the joint doctorate. With a few exceptions, the newly created or existing boards for the various segments have not been able to foster significant cooperative programs between campuses.

Integrative Efforts at the Statewide Level

One area for academic cooperation provided for in the Master Plan in which the Coordinating Council might have exerted important influence was the joint doctorate. Only three joint doctoral programs are now in existence, however--one in chemistry between San Diego State College and the University of California, Berkeley; one in special education between Los Angeles State College and the University of California, Los Angeles; and one in special education between San Francisco State College and the University of California, Berkeley. Additional joint doctoral programs are in various stages of development, but as of 1968, only one graduate student was awarded a doctorate through this joint program.

The slow development of this program is clearly related to the circumstances of its origin and to the fact that the Coordinating Council has not strongly supported it. The joint doctorate was created basically as an expedient solution to a pending crisis, not for any advantages over the traditional arrangements for doctoral programs. A stop-gap measure used by the university to retain exclusive jurisdiction over doctoral study, it attempted to placate the state colleges without actually giving them full authority to grant the higher degree.

In general, interview responses by faculty and administrators toward the joint doctorate were negative. This was especially true for interviewees at the state colleges:

> ...There are many faculty in the state colleges as well qualified as those in the university. Therefore, there's no reason why state colleges should not offer a doctoral degree in certain areas. It would be a gross error to expand or continue the joint doctorate program...
> (state college administrator)

> ...Many of the problems of the state colleges arose as a result of the 1960 Master Plan, which just divided areas of ignorance among the segments. The joint Ph.D. was a political compromise which the statewide senate does not support...
> (officer, statewide senate of the state colleges)

> ...There are many aspects of the 1960 Master Plan that the faculty aren't sure about. One of these areas is the joint doctoral progeam. The faculty don't see the university as cooperating in good faith. I think the university was bludgeoned into the joint Ph.D. program as a compromise...
> (state college faculty member).

It could be argued that it is to the advantage of the state colleges not to be eager to foster this joint arrangement. If there is serious interest in fighting for their own doctoral programs, as there appears to be on some state college campuses, willingness to settle for a joint program partially undercuts the campaign.

Articulation Between the Public Segments Since 1960

California has long had one of the most advanced articulation programs of any state. In 1944, California established an Articulation Conference, a voluntary group with representatives appointed by the Junior College Association, the Association of Secondary School Administrators, the state colleges, and the university. The stated objective of the conference is to:

> ...coordinate publicly supported education so that California students will be afforded the quantity, quality, and variety of education commensurate with their abilities so that when desirable they can move readily from one segment to another. To achieve this end, the members of committees meet to exchange points of view, to identify problems, and to develop and recommend to appropriate authorities...methods for improving articulation (Administrative Committee, 1963).

Since the conference is voluntary in nature, it has no authority to make binding agreements, yet over the years it has met its objectives well. Three different sets of data testify to the fact that articulation is not a significant problem in California. Data from the 1965 Knoell-Medsker study show that California ranked fifth among the states in the percentage of junior college transfer students who graduate from four-year colleges and universities; no major articulation problems were cited by interviewees or by respondents from the six junior colleges visited during the course of the present study; and a recent study conducted by the University of California (1968) in response to a request by the Coordinating Council, found that "junior college transfers make progress toward the baccalaureate degree at about the same rate as native students."

The junior colleges may be entering a new era of even smoother articulation as a result of an agreement between the State College Trustees and the junior colleges, to become effective in the fall of 1969. This agreement provides that a basic set of admissions requirements be established for all the junior colleges, and that the president of any accredited junior college can certify that his students have met the state college general education breadth requirements (California Administrative Code, Title 5, Section 40405).

Pressures for a "Single Voice"--New Patterns of Junior College Governance

Although California's many junior colleges engage in a variety of informal cooperative activities, segmentwide integration continues to be a key problem. Under the supervision of the Bureau of Junior Colleges in the State Department of Education, the colleges have been able to effect a limited degree of integration through enforcing the Education Code's legal provisions for attendance records, credentialing procedures, construction regulations, and space utilization standards. A great potential for generating cooperative programs, plans, and long-term development resides in the separate state board for junior colleges established in 1967. Officially entitled the Board of Governors of the California Community Colleges, the board consists of 15 members appointed by the governor, with the advice and consent of two-thirds of the Senate, for four-year overlapping terms. Junior college representation on the Coordinating Council was changed by this bill; the chief executive officer of the Board of Governors and two of its members now serve on the council. As of July 1, 1968, the new board took over the existing functions of the State Department of Education with respect to the management, administration, and control of the junior colleges, and the Coordinating Council was assigned the task of studying the existing structure of power and authority in the junior colleges (i.e., the relationship between the local district boards and the Board of Governors) and to make recommendations to the governor and the legislature by December 1968.

Attitudes of junior college faculty and administrators toward the board have varied at any given time and have shifted in content over time. In the main, more administrators than faculty have felt that the voice they now had on the Coordinating Council and in legislative relationships would result in increased recognition and political influence. More faculty than administrators, however, expressed uneasiness about the likelihood of greater standardization and uniformity of junior colleges, with less responsiveness to local community needs. Buffington (1968) and Luckmann (1968) have discussed the essential elements of these perspectives.

Current attention continues to focus on the initial organizational activities of the Board of Governors. The politically conservative makeup of the board and the limited experience of some of its members with the junior college have elicited a mixed and generally negative response. Some resentment has also persisted about the naming of a chancellor, the choice of whom was significantly affected by the character of the new board and the initial level of funding appropriated to build a staff. It is anticipated that very early in the board's deliberation of key policy issues (curriculum, personnel, financial, facilities, student personnel, and educational policy), the core question of local autonomy versus statewide authorization will become a central issue.

In sum, the potential exists for much greater cooperation, including joint academic programs, between junior colleges. The realization of the potential rests heavily, however, on what the board and its staff perceive as the key issues, and on the responses from local junior college campuses to the board's policies.

"Unity and Diversity" Within the University

A common theme in the recent decade of the university's growth and development has been unity and diversity. The primary focus of unity as discussed in various university documents would appear to be related to administrative policy, rules, standards, and procedures--to administrative integration through the creation and application of common policies regarding such matters as standards for faculty employment and student admissions, as well as procedures for negotiating research contracts, purchasing goods and services, and developing academic and budget plans.

The concept of diversity, on the other hand, places greater emphasis on the academic or intellectual thrust of the several university campuses. A statement by the Office of the President (1966b) expressed it as follows:

> Each general campus will have programs in most of the traditional fields of knowledge, but they will not simply be carbon copies of each other. Each faculty is encouraged to experiment with new and distinctive methods of organizing, teaching, and examining in its courses. Major differences of emphasis are being planned among new campuses--for example, in the residential college plan of Santa Cruz /p. 53/.

Encouragement to the individual campuses to develop programs particularly appropriate to their geographic location, local community needs, and faculty interests clearly is an attempt to foster academic differentiation.

To develop the dual themes of unity and diversity, a major program of administrative decentralization was undertaken between 1958 and 1966. The significance of this decentralization effort is best understood against the background of the role traditionally played by the Board of Regents. During the first 70 years of the university's existence, the regents exercised so close a day-by-day administrative control over the affairs of the university that, as one interviewee expressed it, "the regents made all the decisions, including the size and shape of door knobs." Not until after World War II, when the regents became aware of the very difficult task of coordinating a multi-campus organization, were any substantial modifications made in the distribution of authority within the university. In 1948, they sought the advice of a consulting firm regarding the overall administrative structure and procedures of the university, but it was not until 1951 that any marked change occurred in the centralized administrative structure of the university; in that year the chancellors of the campuses were given authority over all aspects of local campus affairs.

Early in 1958, the president retained the services of Cresap, McCormick, and Paget to initiate what became a continuing series of studies and recommendations for creating unity for the total university and providing maximum discretion at the campus level over those areas most closely relevant to local problems and conditions. One key recommendation reiterated that chancellors be given authority over all aspects of local campus affairs, thus essentially eliminating the previous direct line relationship between chancellors and several universitywide administrators (Stadtman, 1967).

Subsequently, additional moves toward decentralization were taken with some regularity. In the academic year, 1958-59, accounting and nonacademic personnel offices were decentralized, and again, chancellors were given greater discretion in personnel actions and in making budgetary modifications. In 1960, local campuses were given the responsibility for administering the offices for admissions, educational placement, architects and engineers, and purchasing. In 1961, they were given jurisdiction over publications and graduate divisions. And finally, in 1966, chancellors were given authority to make appointments, promote faculty, and increase certain types of salaries (Office of the President, 1962, and University of California, 1959). For a penetrating critique of the decentralization program, see the "Byrne Report" (1965). The trend toward decentralization may be ending under the administration of Governor Ronald Reagan, however; in April 1969, the Board of Regents took back from the president and chancellors their powers governing the appointment and promotion of tenure faculty (University Bulletin, April 28, 1969).

The unity/diversity theme and the program for decentralization highlight several important efforts to cope with the problem of integration within the university. They also, however, reveal the relative neglect of cooperative or joint academic programming between the campuses of the university and between the university and other public and private institutions in California.

Some efforts have been made to ease the transfer of students from one university campus to another, and to share library, computer, laboratory, health services, and athletic, recreational, and cultural facilities. However, with the exception of the Education Abroad Program and the offerings of the University Extension, there were no major joint academic programs involving the mutual sharing of personnel and financial resources. Nothing was found within the University of California's structure which demonstrated innovative joint programming.

Integration and Disintegration of California State Colleges

The most significant potential gain for the state colleges that came out of the 1960 Master Plan was the creation of a Board of

Trustees. This promised to be followed by increasing system integration and the coalescing of political strength behind the state colleges throughout the state, and eventually by serious efforts to achieve educational integration.

Previously, the state colleges had been under the control of the State Department of Education. During that time the major source of administrative and educational integration was contained in the work of the Council of Presidents (Liaison Committee, 1955) which, according to several interviewees, either made or significantly influenced most of the critical decisions regarding operating procedures, funding levels, rates of growth, and key appointments to administrative positions. With the council so influential as a group and the presidents individually so powerful on their campuses, it was to be expected that many members of the council would resist the creation of a board, such as the trustees, which would threaten their traditional function. (For additional background and comment on the work of this council, see Odell, 1967).

The transition from control by the State Department of Education to the new Board of Trustees required a major reshuffling of power alignments and patterns of administrative integration among the state colleges. The establishment of the trustees meant, in time, that they would become the major source of administrative integration through a central office and a professional staff. The locus of decision-making was expected to shift from the Council of Presidents to the chancellors and trustees.

One other form of administrative integration was provided for in the early 1960s. Prior to the Master Plan, faculty members from various state colleges had attempted unsuccessfully to obtain official recognition for a statewide faculty senate. At that time five organizations (the Association of California State College Professors, the American Federation of Teachers, the American Association of University Professors, the California Teachers Association, and the California State Employees Association) competed for faculty loyalties, but none emerged as the accepted spokesman for the faculty. All of these organizations are still active today and still in competition with one another for faculty allegiance. By spring of 1963, however, Chancellor Dumke recommended and the trustees approved the formation of a statewide faculty senate, which has the responsibility for reviewing and formulating proposals on educational policy matters and on faculty rights and benefits (Odell, 1967).

With respect to educational integration, both Phase II and Phase III of the Academic Master Planning efforts contain information about the establishment of segmentwide programs. For example, the 1968 Plan itemizes several of these segment-sponsored programs, such as the InterAmerica Institute, the Moss Landing Marine Laboratories, the Conference on Biological Sciences, the joint doctoral programs, the San Francisco Consortium, and a host of cooperative programs with federal, state, local, and private agencies (Office of the Chancellor, 1968).

Yet much remains to be done in the way of fostering more cooperative efforts between the state college campuses. The lack of more substantial segmentwide programs may be partly attributable to the criticisms leveled at the chancellor and the trustees for unimaginative and short-sighted leadership. The following quotations are characteristic of the attitudes of many state college personnel toward segmentwide leadership.

> ...The autocratic control of the Chancellor's Office is the most serious indictment that can be made of the whole system. This tight control was probably necessary earlier when the local administrators were very weak. But now most of the campus administrations are strong enough to warrant some decentralization from the Chancellor's Office...
> (an administrator)

> ...The trustees view themselves essentially as budget watchers for the taxpayers. They should actually play the opposite role and act as champions for the institutions ...They just don't understand the uniqueness of the enterprise of education. Education just can't be run like any other business. The Trustees and Chancellor's Office have been very influential in another way. They have driven the faculty to unionism! Most faculty are not basically committed to unionism...but out of the frustration with the Trustees and the Chancellor and as a result of political threats from the Reagan administration, the faculty have been forced to support unionism as their only hope for gaining power...The change to the quarter system is a good example of the way in which the Board buckles under pressure...The statewide Academic Senate came out with a resolution opposing this change but as usual they were ignored by the Trustees...
> (a faculty member)

> ...The Chancellor does not even fight for the basic level of maintenance support, let alone support moves for new programs. The process of budget review leaves out the college from presenting its case to finance people. The Chancellor's Office is intimidated by the reckless, right wing legislature and Reagan's administration. So existing programs are deteriorating as a result...
> (an administrator)

Since 1965, a series of disruptive events have occurred in the state colleges which have served to further fragment the already precarious state of integration. During the spring of 1966 the statewide Academic Senate decided that there was a "need in the state colleges for a thorough, coherent, and disciplined statement of our problems and prospects." Issued through the Chancellor's Office, the resulting report (Tool, 1966) essentially documented the scope and magnitude of the "differential and subordinate treatment" accorded the state colleges in comparison with the University of California, and indicated the extent to which both these segments are performing the same educational goals. Addressing himself to the Master Plan, Tool wrote:

> The Master Plan itself is partly responsible for the intolerable conditions which today confront the California State College faculty. It was, despite its caveat, conceived in the spirit of separate but unequal treatment of students, and dedicated to its preservation. Many of the specific conditions discussed above are almost inherent in the Master Plan itself and may be fully correctable only by securing legislative modification of that plan. If that is the case, however, the first and most essential step is to stop praising the Master Plan, cease our efforts to bask unreflective in its glory, and begin a serious and critical appraisal of its terms. Only then will there begin to be created a frame of mind in which constructive changes can occur /p. 11/.

The report concluded that, "The Master Plan is fundamentally and inherently contradictory. On the one hand, it requires that each segment strive for excellence in its sphere, and on the other hand, it provides a set of arrangements which make differential quality among the segments inevitable."

Over the years the senate, along with other faculty organizations, has become increasingly concerned about the faculty's role in educational policy-formation. To date, the several groups claiming to represent the faculty are increasingly competitive; even the more conservative statewide academic senate has become more militant in an attempt to overcome its largely ineffective role; and in spring of 1968, the senate voted "no confidence" in Chancellor Dumke's administration and demanded his resignation, albeit without success (Association of California State College Professors, June 1968).

Another manifestation of the growing restlessness of the faculty about their role in decision-making was seen in the efforts of the American Federation of Teachers to recruit faculty support for requesting that the trustees allow a collective bargaining election. Several earlier polls had indicated wide-spread support for such representation and a statewide poll conducted in the spring of 1967 resulted in the faculty expressing its desire for some collective bargaining arrangement by a vote of 1736 to 1098 (Livingston, 1967). The trustees, however, refused to consider this a valid issue.

Students in the state colleges have not been quiet either during the past several years. Continual demonstrations and disruptions particular at San Francisco State College, have been broadly interpreted as outcomes of the Master Plan. Minority students on the state college campuses particularly resent the Master Plan's "caste"-like character. They desire open admissions standards, beyond the 4 percent "outlet clause," so that students from "disadvantaged" areas of the community can receive an education. This position in some part lay behind the major 1969 student strike at San Francisco State College.

Thus, the rapid enrollment growth, continuing rivalry between the campuses, poor leadership from the Chancellor's Office, narrowly conceived academic planning, and the rise of faculty unionism and student power, have combined to limit the viability of the state colleges as a system. Efforts even to maintain cohesive administrative integration are very difficult, and the consequences of these events for educational integration have been disastrous. Since past efforts to resolve problems of integration have failed, the future prospects for success are somewhat bleak at this point.

RESOURCE ALLOCATION

Two types of decisions have set important constraints upon planning and the development of higher education--the way in which California has allocated funds to higher education, compared with its support of other public services, and the budgeting process within higher education itself.

California's Support of Higher Education

California's financial commitment to higher education is clearly higher than that in many states because of the level of its economy, its per capita income, and public expectations, based both on wealth and on traditional conceptions of what is desired. California also made a specific constitutional commitment for the priority of support of public education (Section XV, Article XII, Constitution of the State of California).

Evidence of the magnitude of this commitment is clearly manifest in the fact that public higher education in California is currently a billion dollar enterprise. In 1967-68 the combined budgets of the University of California, the California State Colleges, and the public junior colleges approximated $950 million, of which about $500 million was provided by the state. Capital outlay budgets approached $300 million, including $135 million in state funds. Additional millions of dollars are spent in auxiliary educational operations such as residence halls, dining facilities, student unions, and parking. Most of these activities are supported without state funds. The students' and parents' investment in higher education, approximating some $600 million (Coordinating Council, 1967a), also points up the monetary significance of higher education.

One of the wealthiest states in the nation, each year California ranks among the top ten states (in 1967 it ranked 5th) in per capita personal income--the most widely accepted measure of disposable wealth (Office of Business and Economics, April 1968). Of the major industrial states, California has vied with New York for the first place position in the rankings of per capita personal income during the 1960s. It ranks high among the states in the amount of tax revenues allocated to public services; in 1960 it ranked 7th, and in 1966 it ranked 8th in its "tax effort"--the extent to which the state and local communities imposed taxes on their citizens to finance public programs. This tax effort is generally measured by the percentage that state and local tax revenues comprise of total personal income (Compendium of State Government Finances, 1960, and U.S. News and World Report, March 20, 1967).

Compared with the state support given other public services, California has increased its absolute support for higher education rather substantially since 1951. In that year the state allocated to institutions of higher education a per capita expenditure amount of $8.30. In 1960 the figure was $29.27, and by 1965 it was $32.54--a 292 percent increase over the 1951 base. The greatest increase in support was given in the ten years preceding the Master Plan; since that time, higher education has grown at a much slower rate. Although higher education started from a much lower absolute per capita base than highways or public welfare, it has continued to get an increased share of the revenue over the years (compendium of State Government Finances, 1951, 1960, and 1965).

In the eight-year period after the Master Plan (1961-1968), California led all the states in the total dollar amount allocated for higher education operating expenses. When viewed in terms of the efforts being made by other states, however, California is somewhat below the national average, having increased its appropriations 188 percent, compared with a national average increase of 233 percent. According to Chambers (1968), California thus ranked 31st among the states in percentage gain for the eight-year period, behind such leading industrial states as Pennsylvania (509 percent), New York (413 percent), Texas (260 percent), Massachusetts (417 percent), Ohio (284 percent), and Illinois (233 percent). Part of the explanation for California's low ranking for the decade of the 1960s lies in the budget policies initiated by the Reagan administration in 1967. From 1967-1969, California increased its support of higher education by only 30 percent, less than that of 39 other states throughout the nation.

Budget Review in Higher Education

Budget proposals for state support of higher education are subjected to critical review by a variety of educational and state agencies. In addition to the review on the local campus, expenditure estimates are analyzed by the university and state college central offices, the Department of Finance, the legislative analyst, various legislative committees, and the governor. Although many parties play a part in the process of budget formulation and review, only the governor, the legislative analyst, certain legislators, and the institution's governing boards are involved in the critical decisions regarding the total level of support and final allocation among the competing segments.

The Role of the Governor and Department of Finance

Under the State Constitution (Article IV, Section 34), the governor is held responsible for the general and continuing management of California's fiscal affairs. In order to carry out these responsibilities, the State Department of Finance, as the governor's fiscal agent, is given broad statutory powers with respect to the financial policies of the state and such specific powers and duties as have been found necessary to the exercise of that authority.

PABS in Higher Education

Program budgeting and systems analysis are important vehicles by which program planning and budgeting can be joined together. During the year 1966, the State Department of Finance, supported by the governor and the legislature, formalized a new budget methodology for California state government called Programming and Budgeting Systems (PABS). In general PABS differs from the traditional methods of budgeting in two important respects: it seeks to have college and university objectives defined and translated into budgetary requirements, and it extends the planning vision over a number of years, in contrast to the year-to-year approach of traditional budgeting (CCHE, December 1967).

Both educators and legislators fear and in part resist the move to PABS. Many legislators feel that they will lose the tight control they have exercised in the past; the line-item budget lent itself to a great deal of logrolling. With PABS, the budgetary terms are more general, and therefore less amenable to this type of manipulation. One legislator, in expressing his views on PABS, specifically stressed the importance of politics in decision-making:

> Personally, I see program budgeting as simply giving us more information to make decisions and maybe making alternatives clearer. But it must always be remembered that no budgeting scheme removes the political implications of decision-making. It is always better to have a valid political solution than something that looks "rational" according to some budget procedure. Without valid political solutions, we'd end up with chaos! So, maybe it's better to build a Stanislaus State College than to go overboard on program budgeting.

When queried about the meaning of "valid political solutions," this legislator remarked that where "political solutions weren't used, as in the case of the race relations problem, then you have no constituency support for something that on paper makes sense. The key thing is to keep the institutional structure functioning." This perspective on budgeting, politics, and social change has serious implications for higher education.

Under PABS, the legislative role is not as clear as it is under traditional budgeting procedures, and the legislature, therefore, must design some method of contributing to the long-range planning process. One possibility being discussed is to have the legislature form a joint committee to facilitate its understanding, expertise, and review of PABS budgets (see Siegal, 1968).

Educators also feel that PABS will mean a loss of control for them because although they have the necessary expertise to make decisions, PABS will enable the legislature to decide whether or not a new program should be introduced.

Critical Decision-Making in Higher Education Budgets since 1960

Since the adoption of the 1960 Master Plan, California has had two governors. When the history of the budgetary process over the past years is examined, some interesting general patterns regarding the level of support and commitment of the state to higher education emerge (Tables 4 and 5). For the first seven years of Governor Edmund (Pat) Brown's administration, the state consistently averaged 96 percent support for the governing board's requests, especially for the University of California. The university improved in stature during this period and has been recognized as the "best balanced university" in the nation (Cartter, 1966). For the state colleges, except for the year 1965-66, the pattern of operating budgets was similar. With the change in administration in 1967, however, the new governor sought to carry out his campaign promises by reducing state expenditures. This is clearly

TABLE 4
OPERATING BUDGETS 1960-1969*

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA	1960-61		1961-62		1962-63		1963-64		1964-65		1965-66	
	Millions	%**	Millions	%**	Millions	%**	Millions	%**	Millions	%**	Millions	%**
Regents' Requests[1]	118.8		136.0		144.7		160.3		177.8		206.6	
Governor's Budget[2]	113.0	95.2	132.6	97.5	143.1	98.9	157.8	98.4	171.9	96.7	195.8	94.8
Legislative Analyst Recommendations	112.8	95.0	132.6	97.5	142.6	98.6	155.6	97.1	171.6	96.5	195.0	94.4
Legislative Appropriations	113.2	95.3	132.8	97.7	143.0	98.8	155.3	96.9	172.4	97.0	194.4	94.1
Budget Act after Governor's Vetoes[3]	113.2	95.3	132.8	97.7	142.9	98.0	155.3	96.9	172.4	97.0	194.3	94.1
Actual Expenditures[4]	120.7	101.6	134.2	98.7	147.3	101.8	158.0	98.7	179.5	100.7	204.3	98.9
Federal Funds[5]	36.8		48.6		62.9		72.7		83.6		106.2	
Grand Total[6]	157.5		182.8		210.2		230.7		263.1		310.5	
CALIFORNIA STATE COLLEGES												
Trustees' Requests[7]							105.1		117.0		150.1	
Governor's Budget	66.1		78.3		87.2		101.1	96.1	113.7	97.2	130.1	86.7
Legislative Analyst Recommendations	66.1		77.5		85.8		101.0	96.1	112.8	96.4	128.9	85.8
Legislative Appropriations	66.3		77.9		86.5		100.1	95.2	113.0	96.6	131.8	87.8
Budget Act after Governor's Vetoes	66.3		77.9		86.5		100.1	95.2	113.0	96.6	131.8	87.8
Actual Expenditures[4]	68.5		77.9		90.3		101.4	96.5	115.6	98.8	136.6	91.0
Federal Funds[5]			2.1		2.0		2.3		3.0		7.6	
Grand Total[6]	68.5		80.0		92.3		103.7		118.6		144.2	

*Figures from the Coordinating Council for Higher Education (Regents' Budgets, Trustees' Budgets, Governors' Budgets, Budget Acts).

**Percentages express that proportion of requests either recommended or granted.

TABLE 4 (cont.)

OPERATING BUDGETS 1960-69

	1966-67		1967-68		1968-69		1969-70	
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA	Millions	%	Millions	%	Millions	%	Millions	%
Regents' Requests[1]	236.4		277.9		311.6		341.0	
Governor's Budget[2]	231.5	97.9	196.6 /231.1	70.7 83.2	280.1	89.9	316.0	92.6
Legislative Analyst Recommendations	229.2	97.0	255.4	91.9	282.1	90.5	315.0	92.3
Legislative Appropriations	230.4	97.5	236.8	85.2	283.0	90.8	315.9	92.6
Budget Act after Governor's Vetoes[3]	230.4	97.5	230.8	85.2	277.0	89.0	314.3	92.1
Actual Expenditures[4]	240.0	101.7	243.8					
Federal Funds[5]	132.4		149.3		134.1		135.2/est.	
Grand Total[6]	372.4		393.1					
CALIFORNIA STATE COLLEGES								
Trustees' Requests[7]	171.7		213.2		249.6		299.0	
Governor's Budget[2]	168.1	97.9	154.3 /187.3	72.0 87.9	224.3	89.7	274.8	91.9
Legislative Analyst Recommendations	165.1	96.2	189.6	88.9	224.1	89.8	273.0	91.3
Legislative Appropriations	166.6	97.0	191.3	89.7	225.3	90.3	275.5	92.1
Budget Act After Governor's Vetoes	166.6	97.0	187.9	88.1	224.3	89.9	275.0	92.0
Actual Expenditures[4]	167.7	97.7	192.7					
Federal Funds[5]	10.3		12.3		18.0/est		22.7/est	
Grand Total[6]	178.0		205.0					

FOOTNOTES TO TABLE 4

OPERATING BUDGETS 1960-1969

1. Beginning with 1964-65, Hastings College of Law is excluded and California College of Medicine is included.

2. In 1967 Governor Reagan came out with a new modified budget in March.

3. In 1967 this figure excludes $20.5 million of Regents Reserve Funds which if included would bring the final budget to $251.3 million.

4. Includes salary increases, all other figures exclude salary increase actions.

5. Federal funds are not part of the general operating funds of the institutions but are specifically earmarked for particular projects in research and for such items as outlay for facilities, student financial aid.

6. The grand total is a composite of state and federal funds and does not include gifts and other funds.

7. No formal systemwide budget was prepared by the Trustees of the California State Colleges for 1960-61, 1961-62, 1962-63.

TABLE 5

CAPITAL BUDGETS, 1960-69*

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA	1960-61		1961-62		1962-63		1963-64		1964-65		1965-66	
	Millions	%	Millions	%	Millions	%	Millions	%	Millions	%	Millions	%
Regents' Requests*	94.7		65.7		67.9		74.3		78.4		79.7	
Governor's January Budget	52.2	55.1	48.0	73.0	54.3	79.9	69.5	93.5	63.7	81.3	56.5	70.9
Legislative Analyst Recommendations	52.2	55.1	19.6	29.8	54.3	79.9	53.6	72.1	63.7	81.3	56.4	70.8
Legislative Appropriations	50.7	53.5	48.0	73.0	54.3	79.9	71.0	95.5	63.7	81.3	69.6	87.3
Governor's Final Approval	50.7	53.5	48.0	73.0	54.3	79.9	71.0	95.5	63.7	81.3	69.6	87.3
CALIFORNIA STATE COLLEGES												
Trustees' Requests *											80.1	
Governor's January Budget	42.4		40.5		61.5		58.7		59.3		51.1	63.8
Legislative Analyst Recommendations	42.4		38.9		60.5		45.4		59.3		50.9	63.5
Legislative Appropriations	39.4		40.5		57.5		47.9		59.3		49.4	61.7
Governor's Final Approval	39.4		40.5		57.5		47.9		59.2		49.4	61.7

*Figures reported as governing board requests cannot be used to assess the dynamics of political decision-making in higher education budgeting because they were made in the summer preceding the fiscal year reported. In the fall, governing boards submit drastically revised and reduced requests (not readily available) which reflect both deletions and deferments of capital outlay projects.

TABLE 5 (cont.)

CAPITAL BUDGETS, 1960-69

	1966-67		1967-68		1968-69		1969-70	
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA	Millions	%	Millions	%	Millions	%	Millions	%
Regents' Requests*	91.8		115.6		80.0		96.6	
Governor's January Budget	66.0	71.9	57.7	49.9	44.8	56.0	37.4	38.7
Legislative Analyst Recommendations	65.5	71.4	54.5	47.1	44.5	55.6	37.4	38.7
Legislative Appropriations	67.9	74.0	58.2	50.3	47.6	60.0	36.4	37.6
Governor's Final Approval	67.9	74.0	58.2	50.4	47.6	60.0	36.4	37.6
CALIFORNIA STATE COLLEGES								
Trustees' Requests*	58.9		84.8		108.4		114.4	
Governor's January Budget	60.7	103.1	61.8	72.9	46.7	43.1	44.7	39.0
Legislative Analyst Recommendations	49.9	84.7	56.7	66.9	46.5	43.0	43.9	38.3
Legislative Appropriations	66.8	113.4	61.7	72.8	46.2	42.6	32.7	28.5
Governor's Final Approval	66.8	113.4	61.7	72.8	46.2	42.6	32.7	28.5

evident in the continuing fiscal crisis, begun in 1967-68.

When the history of decision-making for capital budgets is examined, a more irregular pattern of support becomes evident (Table 5). In general, there appears to have been a declining level of capital support, especially for the university, from the last three years of the Brown administration through the first three years of the Reagan administration. For the state colleges, the picture of level of support in relation to anticipated needs is irregular.

The Budget Crisis in Higher Education--The Struggle over the 1967-68 Budget

Throughout his campaign and in his inaugural message, the new Republican governor emphasized that the state's fiscal affairs were in a severe crisis. As part of his effort to balance the 1967-68 state budget of $4.6 billion, he proposed an automatic across-the-board ten percent cutback in the expenditure of every state agency (Langer, 1967), but the proposed cuts for higher education were by far the most drastic planned by a California governor or legislature since World War II (Trombly, 1967). Subsequently, however, the governor submitted to the legislature a modified 1967-68 budget which reinstated substantial funds to the colleges and universities. Although the governor failed to establish a tuition charge for the senior segments, it was agreed that there would be a study of the issue which would be reintroduced in the next budget year. The modified budget of $231 million was sustained during the subsequent legislative maneuvers.

The effects of the new administration's budget cuts on the university's educational programs were summed up by the president: Some 3,500 qualified students would have to be turned away by the university; all new programs and improvements other than those in the health sciences would have to be eliminated; 165 faculty positions were cut out, as were $3 million for organized research. In addition, requested increases would be reduced in the following areas--administration, 58 percent; instructional services, 48 percent; libraries, 38 percent; and maintenance and operation, 33 percent (University Bulletin, February 27, 1967).

For the state colleges, the legislature finally appropriated over $191 million, but the governor exercised his item veto to reduce the final figure to $187.7 million, and reduced facllty salary increases to five percent for both senior systems although the legislature had approved the Coordinating Council's recommendation for a 6.5 percent salary increase for the university and a 8.5 percent increase for the state colleges.

Tuition as the Prelude to the Continued Budget Crises 1968-70

Most persons involved in the higher education fiscal crisis of 1967-68 felt that the state cuts were of a temporary nature, necessary because of deficits accrued by the former Democratic administration and the legislature's earlier failures to vote adequate revenues to support state services. But these expectations soon proved to be false.

The first issue to heighten the tensions between higher education and the new Republican state administration was the subject of tuition for California's institutions of higher education. Historically one of the few states with tuition-free higher education to qualified students, in July 1967, California's governor nevertheless set forth a new tuition program, named the "Equal Education Plan," which called for a tuition of $250 a year in the university and $180 a year in the state colleges (University Bulletin, July 31, 1967).

Anticipating the governor's plan, the University of California had contracted with the College Entrance Examination Board to study the tuition question. The resulting report, Financial Assistance Programs for California Colleges and Universities, was presented to the regents in August 1967. The Coordinating Council also issued a report in May 1968, Study of Income for Public Higher Education, having been requested by the governor to "examine the financing of public higher education on a nationwide basis in an attempt to identify those methods of support which are not presently used." It is not yet clear how these reports will figure in the future deliberations, but they served, in part, to reinforce the university's regents and the state colleges' trustees in their position, and both bodies voted against the adoption of tuition in the fall of 1967. By the spring of 1968, however, the pressures were so great that the university and the state colleges increased their "fees" by $81 and $14 a year, respectively. Crisis and austerity then became the continuing servants of economy (Table 4). As the university president remarked, "This is the second consecutive year that all improvements and new programs have been virtually eliminated. The approximately $12 million of funds which were considered to be one-time reductions in workload support have not been restored and the 1968-69 austerity budget has been used as a base for determining

1968-69 workload allocations" (University Bulletin, February 13, 1968). Once again, in 1968-69, the regents were required to add $5.5 million of their reserve funds to partially offset the state budget cuts.

It can be generally stated for both senior segments that all new and improved campus programs are being delayed or reduced, that there is serious understaffing, particularly on the rapidly growing campuses, that teaching and research equipment is substantially cut back, that libraries have much less money for books and staff, and that the maintenance backlog is growing ever larger (University Bulletin, July 17, 1968 and CCHE, Budget Report to the Legislature, 1968).

The Capital Budget Crisis

Along with the election of the new administration in 1966, the voters approved a $230 million bond issue for capital outlay needs of the university and state colleges. Although the governor adopted the pay-as-you-go philosophy on capital needs, the state budgets finally approved in the years 1967-69 were about 50 percent of the requests considered necessary by the university and state colleges (Table 5).

Faced with the state's inability to provide the necessary capital funds, the university and the state colleges once again went to the voters with a $250 million bond issue in November 1968, but California voters rejected this measure by a substantial margin. This vote has been interpreted as a major loss of public support for higher education, and in a sense approval of the governor's tight fiscal control.

Role of the Legislature and the Legislative Analyst

The legislature has the ultimate and complete control over the fiscal affairs of the state (Section 22, Article IV, State Constitution). Tables 4 and 5 provide some indication of how the legislature has reacted to higher education budgets in the past few years. In the most general sense, the data in Table 4 reveal that under the Democratically controlled legislature in the Brown administration, the legislature essentially supported the governor's program for higher education. With a Republican administration and a Democratically controlled legislature in 1967-68 and 1968-69, the data in Table 4 show that the legislature consistently approved more funds for the university and state colleges than the governor originally recommended. Thus, the governor was consistently forced to exercise his line-item veto power to bring legislative authorizations down to his goals.

The work of the legislature's fiscal committees is largely based upon the analyses of the governor's budget by the Office of the Legislative Analyst. California was one of the first states to create a special office of financial expertise to assist the legislature in its fiscal tasks. Over the past eight years, the recommendations of the legislative analyst have indicated a concern with a limited number of issues chiefly related to the overall level of support required for public higher education, such as student fees, year-round operations, new campuses, medical education, and, as recommended by the 1960 Master Plan, diversion of students from the lower division of the senior segments to the junior colleges (Smart, 1968).

The Emasculated Role of the Coordinating Council

The Coordinating Council has had great difficulty carrying out its legislative mandate with respect to its role in budget review. Because the governor, the legislature, and the governing board are the central figures in establishing budgetary policy, the Coordinating Council from the beginning has had no meaningful contribution to make, although it has searched intensively for ways to carve out a useful role. This search has been discussed by Paltridge (1966), Office of the Legislative Analyst (1967), Smart (1968), and in the council's own series of reports, most notably in *Budget Review Role of the Coordinating Council*, May 23, 1967.

To date, the council has begun to chart out a new role in relation to budget review. It will focus on integrating the segment's budget preparation procedures into the new programming and budgeting system (PABS) of the state government, and also develop long-range budget plans that will project the financial implications and policy issues of segmental master plans. To accomplish these goals, the council is faced with the major task of getting the segments and institutions to identify and clarify their own objectives.

Line-Item Budgeting and the California State Colleges

As is true for most state agencies, the California state colleges have long been administered under the line-item type of detailed fiscal control, a method which creates severe conflicts with educational objectives in the administration of higher education. The nature of this conflict has been discussed by Burkhead (1956), Glenny (1959), and Moos and Rourke (1959). In California, the conflict has been the subject of particular comment in two of the studies which preceded the Master Plan (Deutsch et al.,1948, and Liaison Committee, 1955). The Master Plan (1960) itself commented on the situation as follows:

> The state colleges have been most in need of freedom from detailed and sometimes conflicting state administrative controls...Line item, pre-audit, and other detailed fiscal controls by the State Department of Finance should be terminated; full fiscal authority should be vested in the governing board. Doing so would not necessarily mean greater expenditures but would mean rather that the money would be spent for purposes educators deem the most essential [p. 30].

In subsequent years the Coordinating Council has suggested in its budget reports to the legislature possible solutions to this problem. Due in part to these recurring analyses and recommendations, the legislature in 1965 approved a resolution for the Joint Legislative Budget Committee to work with the State College Trustees, the Office of the Legislative Analyst, and the Department of Finance toward removing the restrictive fiscal controls.

The State College Trustees requested the authority to transfer funds from one category to another, to perform major budgetary functions, to change position classifications, to allocate funds for capital outlay for preliminary project planning, to approve contracts for less than $10,000, and eventually to obtain substantial fiscal autonomy so that they could administer appropriations for the entire state college system.

The legislative analyst's report to the Joint Legislative Budget Committee was considered to be heavily responsive to a recent fiscal error made by the state colleges that resulted in a cutback of faculty salaries. The report took sharp issue with both major justifications offered by the state colleges for increased fiscal autonomy. It disagreed with the state college proposal that responsibility for budget administration be placed at the same level as responsibility for program administration, stating that the "central management function assigned to the Department of Finance is essential to the sound fiscal administration of the state. Therefore, it cannot be delegated to the state colleges." Agreeing that there was needless duplication of responsibility in the Chancellor's Office and the Department of Finance, the legislative analyst nevertheless felt that much of this difficulty stemmed from the unwillingness of the trustees and the chancellor to accept the budget functions assigned them, and that it was therefore premature for the legislature to delegate the authority requested (Office of Legislative Analyst, 1966). The report did recommend, however, that the trustees be given fiscal authority in the areas of transferring funds, changing position classifications, and allocating funds for project planning. These recommendations are now in effect.

The Faculty Staffing Formula--Budget Rigidities at the State Colleges

One of the most persistent criticisms leveled during interviews was at the faculty staffing formula developed in the early 1950s. Investigation showed that both the state colleges and the Department of Finance have used the faculty staffing formula as a device for promoting their own organizational interests. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the colleges were skillfully juggling the faculty staffing formula so that the number of staff positions generated by enrollment projections and enrollment distributions was being maximized, and in time, the Department of Finance decided to pre-audit the faculty staffing formula worksheets to prevent such inflated staffing.

Another defect in the staffing formula of special concern to the Department of Finance is that the formula encourages course proliferation. To be accepted for calculating staff requirements, a course need only fit within an approved curriculum and have a minimum estimated registration of ten students. Bell (1961), then the Director of the State Department of Finance, commented about the lack of course control in the formula:

> From our budget office viewpoint, perhaps the greatest weakness in a faculty staffing formula which is a mere measurement device is the fact that it can become an open-end appropriation for the colleges. Thus, it actually encourages the educational system to develop expensive new curricula duplicated at all colleges, and again tempts the schools to proliferate their offerings in order to have a more grandiose catalogue of courses for student recruitment purposes. Unless some restraint can be placed on the governing board of such institutions to develop economical and efficient programs, a measurement device such as we use in California can be a boomerang which encourages richer and duplicating programs, and makes no attempt to encourage increased faculty productivity.

From the point of view of the state colleges, especially the faculty, the interview data revealed another set of problems with the formula. One aspect concerns the shortage of administrative positions available to handle the increased workloads of the campuses, and several administrators reported that they had been forced to divert faculty positions to administrative categories. Unlike the University of

California, however, which can easily obtain regential approval for such changes, the state colleges do not have procedures available for transferring faculty position to administration. As a consequence, administrators and faculties of the state colleges blame the formula for understaffing and for the necessity to "bootleg" positions.

Many comments were also made at various state colleges about the way in which the formula was applied by the Department of Finance. One administrator said:

> We have to use this formula every year and fill our work sheets based on last year's enrollment. Sometimes the Department of Finance takes these and re-schedules our classes into larger sections. Then they do a post-audit to make sure we have abided by the formula. They never consider the educational effectiveness of particular class sizes; they just apply the formula mechanically, as if it were one of the Ten Commandments. That is what I would call de facto academic planning by the Sacramento bureaucrats.

This de facto academic planning occurs because frequently state colleges schedule courses with classes smaller than permitted by the formula, and then finance the smaller classes through teaching other courses as large lecture classes. Auditors reviewing the formula worksheets have tended to accept the savings in positions that accrue from giving large lecture courses, and reject the additional costs involved in the smaller classes (CCHE Report 67-15, October 31, 1967).

It seems clear that the faculty staffing formula has become a scapegoat for many state college grievances. At times, the Chancellor's Office or the administration of a college has used the formula as a way to "justify" resource allocation decisions, which has served to reinforce already negative faculty attitudes about the formula and deflect faculty attention from the content of the decisions made. At other times, the format of the budget itself--the way budget data were generated--has led to erroneous faculty conclusions about program restrictions. The dilemmas of fiscal autonomy were expressed by a state college central staff member:

> The itemized budget controls exercised by the Department of Finance are the real "millstones around our necks." There has been some relaxation of controls but this creates further problems because the more freedom the Board of Trustees and the Chancellor get, the greater the demands from the local campus for fiscal autonomy. The dilemma, therefore, is that we are decentralizing authority to the campus level while the Department of Finance still holds us ultimately responsible for the way in which the money is used. We still cannot transfer money among budgetary categories, and with about a year and a half budget leadtime, you can't predict precisely what your needs will be. Therefore, budgetary flexibility is essential for higher education.

For further details about the difficulties generated by the faculty staffing formula, and an evaluation, see the Coordinating Council's report, Instructional Practices and Related Faculty Staffing in California Public Higher Education (1967, Section III).

In the fall of 1968, the Department of Finance discontinued its formula review and pre-audit process, beginiing with the formulation of the 1969-70 governor's budget. A weighted student/faculty ratio system based on level of instruction was instituted in place of former procedures, and the chancellor's staff assumed responsibility for pre-auditing of formula worksheets. Also in September, 1968, the chancellor liberalized regulations to permit state college administrators more flexibility in the use of faculty resources vis-à-vis the old formulas.

Budgetary Problems at the Junior Colleges: The Failure of the State to Support the Master Plan

California now has 90 junior colleges which, during the fall term, 1968, enrolled 233,700 full-time students and 334,400 part-time students (Department of Finance, March 1969). Junior college enrollments of this magnitude are found in no other state.

Although the state has continuously provided funds for the current operations of the junior colleges since the first college was established in 1910, by the time of the 1960 Master Plan most junior college districts were under severe financial constraints. Thus, the Master Plan recommended that the proportion of state support for junior college operations be gradually increased to 45 percent by 1975. While state aid was about 30 percent in 1960, the proportion of state support declined following the adoption of the Master Plan, so that by 1962 it was about 27 percent. Since then the percentage has increased slowly, so that in 1965-66 it approached 34 percent (Coordinating Council, March 19, 1968). The most recent statement by the Coordinating Council concludes that "the state 'share' of current instructional expenditures has increased from approximately 29 percent to 32 percent over the past 16 years; but it is still much below the 'recommended' amount (CCHE, February 4, 1969).

The major conclusion to be drawn from this set of figures is that in the eight years since the Master Plan, the state's share has not improved significantly beyond the level already in effect prior to 1960. Given the philosophy expressed by the Reagan administration on state fiscal policy, it is highly unlikely that the legislature will move within the next few years toward achieving the Master Plan goals set for 1975.

Although state support for operating budgets has not been impressive, funding for junior college capital construction projects has encountered even more difficulties. Prior to 1961, the state provided no funds of any kind for capital needs. In that year, the legislature appropriated only $5,000,000, and while another $75 million has been made available to local junior college governing boards since then (Coordinating Council, 1967), this sum is markedly inadequate to provide the necessary facilities.

The Junior College Construction Act of 1967 provides for a 50/50 state-local sharing of construction costs on an equalization basis, includes state review and approval within the governor's budget of construction projects, permits each junior college district to levy taxes sufficient to cover its local share of state-approved projects without a vote of the district electorate, and requires the preparation of a ten-year district master plan for capital construction (California Junior College Association, October 1967).

The University of California's Long-Range Fiscal Program

In addition to meeting basic financial problems, the university has been the major public segment to attempt serious compliance with the general requirements of the state's new PABS; in the summer of 1967 it issued its first version of a long-range fiscal program. The university's long-range fiscal program was prepared on the basis of enrollment projections by level of students and by school and discipline.

In one way, these projections vary from the more detailed procedures suggested by the Coordinating Council, which wants such plans to reflect clearly the several functional aims of the university as delineated in the Master Plan.

One of the major conclusions to be drawn from an analysis of resource allocations made for the public segments during the last eight years is that the decisions were made essentially outside the higher education arena. Very few of the key recommendations of the Master Plan which bear on the issue of finance--such as the support level of 45 percent for the junior colleges, increased fiscal autonomy for the state colleges, or the diversion of lower division students to the junior colleges--have been implemented. Furthermore, very few of the fiscal recommendations of the Coordinating Council have been implemented over the years by the legislature or the governor, who have chosen to hold the line on budgets and increase student fees as a way of stabilizing the state's financial condition.

EDUCATIONAL AUTONOMY AT THE CAMPUS LEVEL

The major question that has guided this research effort has been: What is the impact of the statewide decisions discussed upon the educational autonomy of the local colleges and universities? This section deals with the problem, not from the statewide perspective, but from that of the individual institution.

The primary concern is with an institution's ability to achieve its academic objectives and programs. This is the core of educational autonomy. The concept of educational effectiveness refers in a broad sense to the overall effectiveness of the higher education network. For California, this generally has meant expanded educational opportunities to students who otherwise would not attend college.

Equality and Quality: California's Response to the Dilemma of Higher Education.

One of the central dilemmas plaguing higher education today concerns the relationship between the concepts of equality and quality. Various phrases have been used to describe this relationship, among them democracy versus meritocracy and mass versus elite education. The dilemma centers in how higher education can meet the needs of a democratic society by assuring access to all who desire an education, while at the same time retaining "traditional academic standards." The questions to be answered are: What is the meaning of "mass higher education?" How far can higher education go in equalizing educational opportunities without seriously jeopardizing educational standards?

The current fiscal crisis in higher education has generated partial solutions to this dilemma from several quarters. The Carnegie Commission (1968) advocated massive federal support for higher education, expressing the dilemma in this way:

> What the American nation needs and expects from higher education in the critical years just ahead can be summed up in two phrases: quality of result and equality of access. Our colleges and universities must maintain and strengthen academic quality if our intellectual resources are to prove equal to the challenges of contemporary society. At the same time, the nation's campuses must act energetically and even aggressively to open new channels to equality of educational opportunity [p. 1].

A renewed emphasis by this commission on the "equality of result" aspect of the dilemma reflects much of the current thought. Today more and more Americans assume that a college education is a necessity, and colleges and universities have expanded to meet the imperatives of their needs and wishes.

California's Master Plan endorsed two ways by which the state could resolve some of the strains inherent in the dilemma of quality and equality: 1) It assigned different educational tasks to the various segments, which allowed massive numbers of students the opportunity to attend a college or university, and 2) It established selective admissions standards for the three public segments, which became the key mechanism for maintaining the quality of higher education. In terms of the long-range implications of the quality/quantity dilemma, Jencks and Riesman (1968) gave the following assessment of the Master Plan:

> California has developed a three-tier system of state universities, state colleges and municipal junior colleges. Such a system represents a retreat from 'pure localism' in the sense that none of the institutions in question really seeks to cater to all those who happen to live nearby. At the same time, none except the graduate departments of the university habitually reach beyond the boundaries of the state to find more suitable students. The result is a compromise in which student bodies are typically more economically and academically diverse than in a 'national' college, but less so than in an old style state university, which accepted every high school graduate and taught everything from ceramics to archaeology [p. 180].

It is true that by meeting the twin goals of equality and quality, California is often looked to as a model for the nation. The 1960 Master Plan was unquestionably an ingenious compromise which contributed to the overall effectiveness of higher education in California by expanding educational opportunities while preserving and even somewhat enhancing the caliber of education provided by the various segments. Further examination of the immediate impact and long-term significance of the plan, however, reveals a much more complicated picture.

Contrasting Perspectives--"Plan" or "Treaty"

In the historical resumé and discussion of the 1960 Master Plan (Chapter II), some analysis was made of "the plan as a treaty." This section will develop both this idea further and also consider "the plan as a plan." These two conceptions of the plan illustrate contrasting definitions of the situation that lead to different, although related conclusions about the impact of the Master Plan on various institutions.

A treaty can be viewed as a compromise to resolve the conflicting interests between two or more parties. It often follows extensive and frequently heated discussions between agencies of "heads of state," and commonly is mediated by a "neutral third party." "Trade-offs" are central in the development of treaties; through bargaining and exchange some of the demands of both parties are met. A treaty thus intends to preclude conflict by establishing "distinct domains," and it is considered a relatively permanent and rigid set of conditions for coexistence.

Certain essential aspects of long-range planning are strikingly different from those that characterize treaties. Rather than being firmly established, a plan is a tentative set of agreements subject to modification, mainly the distillation of thought at a point in time. And since circumstances change and priorities shift, most plans have only a short span of usefulness, suggesting that the process of planning is more important than the plan, that what is of prime value is the continuous study and reassessment. The personnel involved in treaties and plans also distinguish between the two processes: While participants in treaties are restricted to a few high echelon emissaries, the participants in planning are numerous and represent a wide variety of perspectives and types of expertise. In higher education, for example, institutional planning would involve trustees, administrators, faculty, and students, and statewide planning would involve representatives of extrainstitutional agencies and offices in combination with institutional personnel.

There are also similarities between treaties and plans, however. Planning in higher education at the statewide level often begins as a result of conflicts between institutions over such issues as new campuses or new programs (especially programs at the graduate and professional levels). It is necessary, therefore, that rights and prerogatives be identified and distinctive educational domains be more clearly articulated. What is being suggested is that planning often includes problems or conflicts which call for "treaty-like" behavior. Difficulties arise, however, when treaty-making becomes the dominant focus of long-range planning, and many claim that the 1960 Master Plan is such a case in point.

When Viewed as a "Treaty"

In the conflict which led to the development of the 1960 Master Plan, the parties in contention were mainly the University of California and the California state colleges. The major issues were determination of the educational and research functions to be served by each segment, establishment of a new governing structure for the state colleges, and creation of a mechanism for statewide coordination.

The agreement reached on differentiation of functions clearly reinforced the university's longstanding eminent domain. Prior to the Master Plan, the education system in California placed major emphasis on basic research and doctoral training; as a result of the Master Plan negotiations and subsequent legislative action, these functions were legally assigned exclusively to the university.

Under the Master Plan, the university also was assured that the three new campuses already planned would receive financial support. These additions were necessary to accommodate projected enrollments for students seeking university-level training, but other important considerations can be suggested as well. Public institutions must employ a variety of tactics to win the continued support of the legislative and executive branches of state government, and to this end long-range academic plans are prepared to indicate the various objectives, programs, and activities to be pursued; projections are made of the facilities required to meet enrollment expansions and special teaching, research, and service programs; and both capital and operating budgets are developed to translate instructional, research, and other services into financial needs. But institutions of higher education, like other tax-supported programs, require political constituencies, i.e., legislators and other interested citizens who take a special interest in education and actively support measures to satisfy its needs. For several decades prior to the rapid expansion of the state college and junior college systems, which took place in the late 1940s and through the 1950s, the university enjoyed a favored position with the legislature, and competition for state funds with other public institutions was minimal. However, this situation gradually changed as new two- and four-year campuses were built across the state. With the rapid growth of state colleges and junior colleges, it was to be expected that the university would become increasingly concerned about competition for state support. It can be postulated that the Master Plan provision for three new campuses to be located in rapidly growing population centers was a device conceived of by the university for bolstering statewide and therefore political support for the university.

The 1960 "treaty" not only had important consequences for the university but also for its major adversary, the state colleges, which achieved its own Board of Trustees. A central office was opened, a chancellor and staff were appointed, academic planning was initiated, and a segmentwide budget was developed. These and many other steps reflected the growing "systemness" of the state colleges.

But this new structure for governance signified other, and possibly more important, achievements for the long-term development and improvement of the system. Creation of the Board of Trustees signaled the potential for establishing a political base of operation for the state colleges. Under the aegis of the Department of Education, the state colleges had been forced into a less favorable position by the sheer magnitude of needs for primary and secondary education. The Board of Trustees, however, would be able to devote its attention solely to the problems and needs of the state colleges. Furthermore, the attention given the individual state colleges by their local assembly-men could be molded into a more effective political block in support of the whole system. Continued expansions and increased contributions also increased their visibility and strengthened their bases of political support. Eventually, this may result in sufficient "political muscle" to effect some major modifications in state college functions. Recently, for example, studies have been conducted to assess the desirability and feasibility of permitting state colleges to grant doctoral degrees, engage in basic research, and call themselves universities. Many faculty and administrators of the state colleges and some central office staff have asserted that the educational effectiveness of the state colleges has been constrained by the restrictions of the Master Plan.

A major attempt to meet state college aspirations for university status was the development of the joint doctorate program. Although several interviewees (some university personnel and state officials) seemed astonished that the joint doctorate had not met with much success, the vast majority of those interviewed both in the university and the state colleges see it as an unworkable arrangement, doomed at the outset.

Beyond those aspects of "the plan as a treaty" discussed so far, the Master Plan had other treaty-like characteristics: The chairman of the survey team was president of a private college, suggesting the mediator role of a "neutral third party"; the plan was intended to "last" for fifteen years, highlighting the rigid and relatively permanent character of treaties; and the major portions of the plan were firmly confirmed by being placed into the state statutes through passage of the Donahoe Higher Education Act. Had the survey team's suggestion been followed--that key parts of the Master Plan become part of the state constitution--the system would have been rigidified even further.

From the Perspective of a "Plan"

Although the private institutions and junior colleges were represented on the survey team, they were not so directly involved in statewide political issues. They were, however, helped by the Master Plan in at least two ways: They were given membership on the Coordinating Council, and the Master Plan's curtailment of several new proposed state colleges and university campuses during the late 1950s reduced many possible areas of conflict between public and private institutions.

Interviewees on private college campuses saw unfavorable consequences of the Master Plan too. A common complaint at one large, independent university was that they were being "forced" into upper division and high-cost graduate programs by the proliferation of state colleges and community colleges because lower division students, in particular, were being absorbed in increasing numbers by the "less expensive" public institutions. Frequent reference also was made to the university's extramural fund-raising campaigns and to the development of foundations for similar purposes by the state colleges. Somewhat related to this was the concern voiced about rising faculty salaries, which again "forced" independent colleges to maintain a competitive posture. More importantly, however, were the "working conditions" provided to faculty in public institutions--lower teaching loads, the availability of teaching assistants and clerical support, more space for offices and research, and larger, more complete library collections --all of which put the independent institution in a difficult competitive position.

Although documentation was sought to support the above assertions, only sketchy and limited supporting evidence was found. What did emerge from the investigation was that independent colleges and universities are experiencing a growing self-awareness, evidenced by more long-range academic planning, a greater concern about institutional self-studies, the desire for a more active role in statewide planning, and the exploration and implementation of more interinstitutional cooperative programs.

The expansion of public higher education in California, guided by provisions of the 1960 Master Plan, has contributed in no small way to the growing self-awareness within the independent segment of higher education, although the financial problems related to rising costs have probably served as a more important impetus for careful planning and long-term development. Eventually, these pressures for critical appraisal and reassessment may result in important qualitative improvements in a number of independent institutions of higher learning.

Junior Colleges as "Full Partners"

The impact of the 1960 Master Plan on the junior colleges was unquestionably of major proportions. The following statement by a junior college president summarizes the note sounded throughout interviews:

> The most important consequence for the junior colleges of the 1960 Master Plan was that we were fully recognized as part of higher education. Suddenly the junior colleges became accepted within the state as a legitimate partner in higher education. The junior colleges have become more respectable in certain communities where they weren't previously. For example, in the Bay Area there was a considerable degree of snobbishness about the junior colleges. The thinking was that with the university and San Francisco State in the area, there was certainly no

> need for one of those weak sister junior colleges. As a result of the 1960 Master Plan, Peralta Junior College District received major recognition as a legitimate institution...the statement on differentiation of functions in the 1960 Master Plan really set a challenge for the junior colleges. That is, now we have sole responsibility to those students with limited skills. It's easy to teach bright kids--this is being done at the university and state colleges--but it's not easy to teach less able students. Thus, the junior colleges have one of the most difficult and most important assignments in higher education. So, the Master Plan has helped put a lot of people in our corner, and as a result, we have been forced to rub elbows with the other segments and they have come to learn what junior colleges are all about.

In summary, one could conclude that the educational autonomy of the junior colleges has probably been enhanced by the Master Plan and related developments. The colleges have continued to serve an ever-broadening spectrum of students through their comprehensive mission and role; their responsibility for lower division instruction has continued to expand; and articulation arrangements have continued to improve, easing the transfer of students to senior institutions. Further progress, however, depends heavily on the success of the new Board of Governors and especially on how the powers and duties are distributed between systemwide agencies and local junior college boards. As expected, many junior college faculty and administrators anticipated improvements if the board "coordinates but does not govern," but many expressed fears if the reverse should come about.

Further Constrictions on the State Colleges

One problem the newly created Board of Trustees and Chancellor's Office faced early was that of long-range planning. Expansion of facilities was imperative, but there were no clear bases on which to set priorities and make decisions. Thus, one of the initial moves by the Chancellor's Office was to ask each of the state college presidents to appoint a committee for long-range planning. Because of the newness of the task, the uncertainties about long-range implications, and the "natural" tendency for campuses to protect their interests, this first round of planning resulted in considerable attempts at "academic imperialism," and numerous new programs and related expansions were proposed beyond what could be justified by an institution's mission and role and the requirements of the total system. However, as all parties involved gained experience and procedures became more explicit, the objectives of planning were more clearly conceived and earlier planning activities gave way to a more circumscribed goal--attention to degree- and special-programs.

While most interviewees took a positive view, in general terms, toward the value and necessity of planning, the current style of curricular planning was both praised and condemned. The initiation of academic planning and the establishment of the Chancellor's Office were, in fact, the most frequently cited outcomes of the 1960 Master Plan for the state colleges. And the new emphasis on academic planning was generally viewed as having significantly aided the process of institutional self-analysis, the clarification of institutional objectives, and the establishment of long-range priorities. These positive assessments were usually followed by a barrage of criticism--". . . academic plans are only loosely related to facilities and budget plans. . ."; "basic questions about institutional mission and role are readily side-stepped. . ."; ". . . too much emphasis is placed on degree programs and curricula, and too little consideration is given to other important dimensions of the teaching-learning environment. . ."

It is possible that only four or five state colleges have made major progress in the use of academic planning as a key policy-setting mechanism. In the successful instances, a very close and meaningful link has been effected between academic plans, budgetary plans, and planning for facilities, with the academic plan defining and setting educational objectives, and serving as a policy guide for the allocation of human and physical resources. An administrator at one of these campuses where heavy reliance was placed on planning made the following statement:

> . . .Our campus went beyond the chancellor's request for a committee to advise the president on long-range planning. We established the Master Educational Policy Committee, which had broad powers and responsibilities. It includes several top-level administrators plus faculty representatives selected by the academic senate. This committee: 1) oversees and makes recommendations on all aspects of physical facilities and site development in light of the academic programs, and 2) makes recommendations on policy regarding any area of the college where policy is absent. It's a very powerful committee. Faculty are beginning to see the important link between facilities and program planning. The committee is putting pressure on our facilities people to work on how they can best support the programs, rather than solely on how to accommodate projected enrollments.

Similar observations were made by others in these institutions, and there is little doubt that continuous long-range planning was making a significant contribution to the ability of these few state colleges to realize their objectives.

Where meaningful planning was engaged in, analyses were being made of ongoing programs through examination of the number of majors, distribution of classes, allocation of faculty positions, and needed facilities and equipment. Furthermore, proposals for new programs and additional facilities were consistently weighed in terms of priorities previously established in the academic plan. For the majority of state colleges, however, planning appears to be nothing more than a routine, administrative process. Information is collected, forms are completed, but there is very little searching discussion, and the "normal pull-and-tug between departments and deans" continues to be the common method for determining yearly budget allocations and facilities assignments.

The items consistently cited by interviewees at state colleges as "the great millstones around our neck" and the major reason why planning becomes "an exercise of futility," were the faculty staffing formula and the formulation of budgets on a line-item basis. There may be significant changes, however, now that the Chancellor's Office has gained more control over these matters.

Even though the system for budgeting in the state colleges was mentioned by interviewees ". . . as the most important constraint on us. . .," comments were also made to the effect that ". . . there are ways of working the system to our advantage." One state college administrator described it as follows:

> The faculty staffing ratio is 'lean' on the traditional lecture-discussion teaching methods. But it's 'rich' on student supervision, independent study, and the like. So, I try as much as possible to work these types of courses into our catalog. You'd be surprised to see how many more faculty we can get for a department when this technique is used.

This "gimmick" and probably others as well are used by some state colleges to "beat the system." Quite obviously, however, this does not come to grips with the generic problem repeatedly cited by faculty and administrators that ". . . the basic philosophy of budgeting in the state colleges creates an atmosphere inimical to quality higher education." Many persons saw not simply the formula approach but the way in which it is implemented by various state agencies, in particular the Department of Finance, as the nexus of the problem. The problems echoed today are not significantly different from those voiced by the Liaison Committee in 1955:

> If the Department of Finance staff, reviewing budgets for educational purposes, were well acquainted with educational philosophy, techniques, and equipment needs in all fields of education, little criticism might be made of the practices...It is said that some persons who review budgets have had no practical experience in higher education administration and policy making, yet they are the very persons who, through staffing and equipment formulas, determine educational policy. Except for very general controls, the adoption of formulas to be used should be placed in the hands of educational authorities [p. 269].

Thus the picture of the state college situation is mixed. Differential admissions requirements consistent with the tripartite system raised the quality of students entering state colleges; the liberal arts emphasis and masters degree programs were increased; certain functions and programs formerly provided by state colleges have been transferred to junior colleges; a Board of Trustees and Chancellor's Office were created and a program of continuous long-range planning has been implemented in some institutions; and "breathing room" has been worked into the budgeting scheme for state colleges, although the line-item approach still exists in the development of budgets and the "heavy hand of control" is still exercised by the Department of Finance. However, beyond these unquestionable achievements, including the impressive accommodation of increased numbers of students, there is relatively little evidence to suggest that the state colleges have been given the full opportunity to realize their academic aims, purposes, and objectives.

Diversity Within the University

The essential and traditional educational functions of the university were "locked-in" by the Master Plan in accordance with the university's desires. Also, consistent with the university's assignments within the tripartite design of higher education, the entrance requirements were raised. Fundamental questions are now being raised by various student and faculty groups about the "racist character" of the university's entrance requirements, since the purpose of raising the university's admissions standards was to facilitate and support its major emphasis on graduate and professional training. This does, however, allow for one kind of diversity within the state's total educational system.

In its guarantee of three new campuses for the university, the Master Plan did not specify that they should have diverse functions, but the university chose towork toward greater diversity by identifying relatively unique and distinctive missions and roles for its three new campuses. A premise underlying this plan was that the educational autonomy of the university might be enhanced through the exploration of new structures and functions within its traditional framework. The success of this plan and of plans for "experimental" campuses in other parts of the nation was recently assessed by Martin (1969), who drew the following conclusions about "institutional distinctiveness":

> The criteria for hiring and promoting the faculties for the new colleges, on the basis of the evidence thus far, are essentially the same as those used at the older campuses...This is the way, we are told, to assure that the faculty of the new college will not be regarded as second-rate and that the work will be first-rate. But it is a widely held belief now that the traditional criteria for placement and advancement, which have emphasized publications, research, guild standing, and professional mobility, have helped to create the problems that have produced the current student disaffection /pp. 68-69/.

These findings as applied to the University of California suggest that the new campuses were educationally differentiated but not administratively differentiated from the older campuses. It is important also to realize that in being forced by the legislature to agree that the new campuses would not cost the state any more than existing campuses, important limits were placed on what the university could do in the way of fully supporting new forms of innovation.

Prospects for the Future: Ingredients of a New Master Plan for the 1970's?

The Master Plan's recommendation of the creation of the Coordinating Council, to advise the legislative and executive branches of state government on the continued growth and expansion of higher education, was an appropriate response to the state's needs. The effectiveness of the council has been significantly hampered, however, by the constraints placed on its legally defined structure and functions.

Higher education in California continues to encounter pressures created in large part by its own record of successes. Underlying the pervasive pressures and successes are the dynamics of educational growth. A decade ago the state provided higher education opportunities for 225,000 full-time students, but by 1968 the figure had increased to 607,000 full-time students (a 171 percent increase), and revised projections to 1977 conservatively estimate that 915,000 full-time students (by head count) must be accommodated in California's colleges and universities, a 51 percent increase over the 1958 base (CCHE, Report #68-3). Since the modified projections made in the 1960 Master Plan for the year 1975 only allow for a full-time enrollment of 660,000 students, it is clear that the Master Plan projections are off by some six years of estimated student growth (California Master Plan, 1960).

To understand the various attempts currently being made to restructure contemporary higher education, it is necessary to have a sense of the segments' relative rates of growth. In the past decade, the university has increased its enrollment 126 percent (97,000 versus 43,000 students in 1958); the California state colleges have increased 258 percent (161,000 versus 44,500 students in 1958); the junior colleges have increased 198 percent (272,000 versus 91,000 students in 1958); and the private colleges and universities 66 percent (77,800 versus 46,800 in 1958). For the decade of the 1960s, therefore, the state colleges and the junior colleges were faster-growing segments than the university, which also has been growing, but at a rate much below the average for the entire state network.

In the context of the evolving perspectives and educational aspirations of the existing segments, these general growth patterns have vastly improved the relative political positions of the state colleges and the junior colleges. Furthermore, the university has again been placed on the defensive, both educationally and politically. Over the years this has meant that the competition between the two public senior segments for funds, students, new programs, new campuses, and educational status has become very intense. Thus, both the dynamics of growth and the rising expectations of the state colleges combined to preclude full enforcement of the educational agreements worked out in the 1960 Master Plan.

Once again California's segments of higher education are experiencing pressures to cope with the expected enrollment crisis up to 1980. Once again many participants in higher education are looking forward to a new master plan as a way of reducing the interinstitutional pressures and conflicts.

In the next eleven years, higher education in California faces challenges in meeting enrollments and handling finances which are at least as great as those experienced over the past 100 years. Yet it is difficult to discern any clear outlines of a new master plan from the plethora of recommendations set forth by the Joint Legislative Committee, the Constitutional Revision Commission, the Coordinating Council, and the Governor's Task Force.

IV

Higher Education in Florida

Higher education in Florida began in 1823, just one year after Florida was organized as a territory. At that time, the United States Congress gave two townships of land, known as seminary lands, toward the establishment of two institutions of higher education. Two more townships of land were granted by Congress in 1845, when Florida was admitted to statehood. The proceeds from the use or sale of these four pieces of land (nearly 100,000 acres) were to be used for the building of the two institutions, one to be located east and the other west of the Suwannee River. In 1846, a special advisory board was created by the legislature, and upon its recommendations a law was passed in 1851 which finally authorized the two public colleges. Thus, East Florida Seminary was opened at Ocala in 1853 (moved to Gainesville in 1866) and in 1857 West Florida Seminary was created in Tallahassee. Organized more like secondary schools than colleges, however, these institutions continued in this way for some time. During this period, the first two private institutions also were established, namely, Edward Waters College in Jacksonville (1866) and Stetson University at Deland (1883).

Florida Agricultural College was developed in 1883 at Lake City as a result of the Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1862, which provided 90,000 acres of land for the state of Florida. Five years later, two more public institutions were added by an 1887 law which established the State Normal College for White Students at DeFuniak Springs and the State Normal College for Colored Students at Tallahassee. And two more private institutions emerged in 1885--Florida Southern College (Lakeland) and Rollins College (Winter Park).

The remaining two public institutions developed prior to 1905 were the South Florida Military and Educational Institute (founded 1895 at Bartow) and St. Petersburg Normal and Industrial School (founded about 1900 at St. Petersburg). Two more private institutions also were established--Florida Memorial College at St. Augustine in 1892 and Bethune-Cookman College at Daytona Beach in 1904.

All the public institutions emerged and developed in a highly autonomous way, and the proliferation of small and relatively weak public institutions during this period probably reflected the influence of local community interests. Culpepper et al (1967) characterized the period as one when:

> ...a number of institutions offering post-high school education were founded, despite the calamities of secession, civil war, the post-war years, and the economic setbacks attendant to those severely disruptive occurences. It is not surprising that during this period Florida's preoccupied citizens gave little heed to the concept of a centralized system of public higher education...but allowed their public colleges to come into being and to function bereft of coordination and control [p. 2].

All this was changed markedly in 1905.

THE PERIOD OF CONSOLIDATION

Several fundamental conditions are cited by observers of this period to account for the major effort to launch a centrally controlled public system of higher education in 1905. There was considerable feeling that, given the size of the state's population (about one-half million in 1900), Florida had built too many institutions; that the state's wealth did not warrant the existence of seven public institutions; and that the focus, programs, and services of these small institutions were not sufficiently different from those at the secondary level. Finally, education leaders themselves were exerting increasing pressure for a policy of concentration and differentiation.

The historic move toward a unified system of control of higher education in Florida came with the passage of the Buckman Act of 1905. In essence, the immediate results of this act were: 1) to merge all tax supported higher education institutions for white students, i.e., East Florida Seminary, West Florida Seminary, State Normal College for White Students, and Florida Agricultural College into two new institutions--a university for men (University of the State of Florida, known as the University of Florida since 1903) in Gainesville, and a college for women (Florida Female College, later known as Florida State College for Women and since 1947 known as the Florida State University) in Tallahassee; 2) to differentiate these two institutions from each other and from secondary education; 3) to maintain the State Normal College for Colored Students (also known as the Colored Normal School and changed to Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes in 1909, and as the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University since 1940; and 4) to establish a dual control of higher education by creating a Board of Control with full jurisdiction over all public institutions which would nevertheless be subject to the State Board of Education (created in 1885).

Higher Education from 1905 to 1955

Two different types of important developments occurred during this period. One centered on fundamental changes and expansions at the three institutions created by the Buckman Act; the other on two statewide surveys of education at all levels and a projection of needed changes and expansions.

No fundamental change occurred at the University of Florida between 1905-1909. In 1910, however, a new president was named and steps were taken to reorganize the university into eight academic divisions, including a separate division known as Teachers College and Normal School (established in 1912). Approximately 100 acres were added; thirteen new buildings were constructed; more adequate equipment and supplies were provided; and the faculty increased fourfold (15 to 65), while the student body expanded fivefold (136 to 664). Similarly, important developments occurred at Florida Female College. Between 1906 and 1918 new schools and divisions such as music, art, extension, and home economics were established, six new buildings were constructed, and the number of faculty doubled (20 to 5) while the size of the student body tripled (204 to 662).

The Negro institution was not static during this period either. Prior to 1909 it had offered a strong secondary school program emphasizing industrial and agricultural training, home economics, and teacher training. However, major strides were made toward becoming a higher education institution when the older courses of instruction were modified and upgraded, plant facilities were enlarged and improved, the number of faculty and students increased, an extension program was added, and a summer school was opened in 1913. While all these institutions continued to expand and improve their course offerings, no new public universities were created until the mid-1950s.

The first of the statewide surveys that investigated all levels of Florida's educational system, in 1927, was authorized on the crest of an economic boom and a rapid population growth. Allowing a budget of $75,000, the legislature created an Educational Survey Commission consisting of five Florida citizens and a staff of recognized experts drawn from outside Florida. George B. Strayer, head of the Division of Field Studies of the Institute of Educational Research, Teachers College, Columbia University, supervised the comprehensive study.

The Survey Commission made some 200 recommendations, covering such diverse areas as: 1) the establishment, control, and administration of the state institutions; 2) educational organization; 3) the professional education of teachers; 4) the enrollment, classification, advising and housing of students; and 5) the building programs, finance, and business management of the institutions. Within this myriad of proposals, a few recommendations merit special notice. Although the creation of the Board of Control had signified a fundamental change toward a more centralized and dual form of governance in higher education, one key recommendation was that the control of higher education in Florida should be vested in a single agency, the State Board of Control for Higher Education, which should be removed from the control of the

State Board of Education, its membership increased from seven to nine, and its terms of appointment extended from four to nine years. Related to this was another recommendation--that each institution should continue to operate under *minute and highly detailed budgets*. In the light of subsequent events and developments, another recommendation is also particularly interesting: That the University of Florida should be the chief center of graduate work. This early attempt to establish differentiation of functions in the 1920s continued as a point of tension which in the 1960s became known as the "centers of excellence" controversy.

No additional statewide studies or plans were developed for education in the state of Florida until a second comprehensive study was initiated in the mid-1940s. In 1945, just prior to the mounting enrollment pressures and greater emphasis on graduate training and research following World War II, the legislature approved creation of the Florida Citizens Committee on Education. Composed of 16 members, this committee was assisted in its work by 13 study and advisory committees, consisting of informed citizens and individuals drawn from state agencies and from education at all levels. In addition, 14 consultants were recruited from outside the state, many of whom were affiliated with the United States Office of Education.

As with the first survey, completed in 1929, this study was directed to all levels of education. About one-third of the final report, published in 1947, was devoted to higher education, and some 60-plus recommendations were made about the pattern of higher education, organization and control, curriculum and instruction, faculty personnel, student personnel, the education of instructional and administrative personnel, medical and related education, physical plants, financial support, and future programs.

Once again the issue of governance over higher education arose. And in this case, a recommendation was made that a university system be created under a single board headed by a chancellor. Other significant proposals were that a third state university campus should be added in the southern part of the state, that graduate work should be significantly expanded, that Florida State College for Women and the University of Florida should become coeducational, that regional planning should be expanded and master planning initiated for each of the existing campuses for 25 years, and that a state system of junior colleges should be established as part of secondary education.

The third campus was not opened, however, until 1960. This delay reflects, in part, the dominant role of the University of Miami in the southern part of the state. In 1947, Florida State University and the University of Florida became coeducational campuses, and Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College and Florida State College for Women gained university status. After a special study in 1957, the junior colleges engaged in a major expansion.

Referring to the period from 1905 to 1955, Culpepper and Tully (1967) reasoned, in a Staff Study Report published by the Florida Board of Regents:

> ...The adverse effects of this period of non-expansion and no change in higher education in Florida cannot be easily determined, but when expansion and change came, they were vastly more costly than they would have been had they taken place in planned stages beginning soon after the Board of Control was created. One may well question that placidity in higher education in Florida during this period compensated fully for holding the line against change [p. 5].

One can readily surmise that, given the range of administrative and managing tasks delineated for it in the 1905 Act, the Board of Control was hard-pressed to carve out any significant portion of time for long-range planning. Nevertheless, there was planning in 1927-29 and again in 1955-57, although it was initiated by the legislature, not the Board of Control. The Culpepper and Tully comments evidently were based on the fact that the key recommendations of these studies were not implemented for many years. One recommendation in the 1929 Survey--that the membership on the Board of Control be increased from five to nine--was not carried out for 35 years. And it took 40 years for any progress to be made on the recommendation that dual control in higher education be ended. However, if one views planning as a process oriented both to short- and long-term change, then it must be allowed that eventually the planning was successful. Hopefully, when sufficient understanding of these issues is achieved and political forces are marshalled behind study recommendations, then more major changes will occur. It is also important to note that many of the basic ideas and themes contained in the 1929 and 1947 studies were carried over into subsequent plans, as will be discussed.

The Emergence of Statewide Planning

Several plans for higher education in Florida were developed during the mid-1950s and 1960s: Higher Education and Florida's Future: Recommendations and General Staff Report (1956); The Community Junior College in Florida's Future (1957); A Feasible Course of Action for Florida's State System of Higher Education in the Space Age (1963);

④

Role and Scope Studies, 1962-64 (1965); and *Summary of a Master Plan for Post-Secondary Education in Florida, 1965-1975* (1966). One other document, *Toward Excellence: Changing Concepts for Education in Florida*, was prepared in 1967, but focused on public school education.

The most comprehensive and intensive plan for higher education was the one developed in 1956, which resulted in many important changes for higher education in Florida, and this plan will be reviewed at length. Since the other plans listed above dealt with only one segment of the higher education network, they will be less fully discussed.

The 1954-56 statewide planning effort, more commonly referred to as the "Brumbaugh and Blee Studies," was the result of a combination of circumstances and pressures. A prime motivating force for the studies was the support and encouragement of Governor Leroy Collins, the first "modern" Florida governor to be elected by the urban areas of the state, particularly Miami and Tampa. There were, additionally, three other major factors important to the development of this series of studies:

1) Following World War II, higher education had to accommodate increased enrollments and provide more graduate teaching and research. Florida's system of public higher education still consisted of the three institutions--University of Florida, Florida State University, Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University--which were the result of the consolidation of 1905, and five community colleges, the first of which was established in 1927. The enrollment in public and private colleges and universities in 1950 was 36,152 students--20,390 in public institutions and 15,762 in private institutions (Table 6). In the mid-1950s, total student enrollment projections were: 66,350 for 1960, 100,011

TABLE 6

Florida: Past and Projected Student Enrollment
in Institutions of Higher Education

YEAR	JUNIOR COLLEGE	STATE UNIVERSITY	PUBLIC	PRIVATE	TOTAL
1945[1]				4,235	
1946					
1947				16,119	
1948				16,986	
1949				17,339	
1950[2]	1,375	19,015	20,390	15,762	36,152
1951	1,164	18,963	20,127	13,698	33,835
1952	1,407	16,668	18,075	17,211	35,286
1953	1,676	18,639	20,315	17,217	37,532
1954	2,516	18,677	21,193	18,223	39,416
1955	3,757	20,333	24,090	21,064	45,154
1956	5,218	20,953			
1957[3]	6,169	21,146	27,315	21,577	48,892
1958	9,614	22,569	32,183	22,052	54,235
1959	11,008	23,713	34,721	23,267	57,988
1960	15,790	27,053	42,843	23,760	66,603
1961	22,116	29,219	51,335	25,158	76,493
1962	29,356	30,675	60,031	25,970	86,001
1963	38,491	33,348	71,839	27,074	98,913
1964	45,949	38,478		29,880	104,375
1965	58,426	43,846	102,272	32,328	134,600
1966[4]		48,372			
1967		54,119			
1972[5]	85,364	78,062	163,426	39,825	203,251

[1] 1945-54: private institutions by fall enrollment. Council for the Study of Higher Education in Florida. Higher education and Florida's future: The government, management, and financing of higher education in Florida. Tallahassee, 1956.

[2] 1950-56: junior colleges and state university by on-campus and off-campus enrollments, exclusive of correspondence courses. Bureau of Economic and Business Research, College of Business Administration. Florida statistical abstracts, 1967. Gainesville: University of Florida, 1967.

[3] 1957-65: junior colleges, state university, and private institutions, by on-campus enrollments. Board of Regents. An interinstitutional admissions program proposal for the state university system of Florida. Publication No. 108. Tallahassee: State University System of Florida, 1967.

[4] 1966-67: state university by head-count. Board of Regents Fact book, State University System of Florida, 1968.

[5] 1972 projections for all segments by full-time equivalents. Scope, Preliminary draft, April 30, 1968.

for 1965, and 132,000 for 1970. It was estimated that public institutions in 1970 would have to accommodate 99,000 students, while the remaining 33,000 would be absorbed within private colleges and universities (Brumbaugh et al, 1956).

2) The Southern Regional Education Board (SREB) characteristically encouraged and supported long-range planning for higher education in the south by providing consultants and developing a pool of data about higher education in the south.

3) Post World War II enrollment pressures had prompted the creation of a cooperative arrangement referred to as the Inter-university Committee on Coordination, between the University of Florida and Florida State University. The purposes of this committee were to coordinate programs at the universities in various fields; to control the movement of any department, school, or college from one institution to another; to control the expansion and development of new professional or technological programs; and to allocate new functions to the campuses so as to maintain a balanced development of both universities (Campbell, 1964). This mechanism functioned well until 1953, when the committee was substantially weakened by growing disagreements between the institutions over doctoral programs. According to De Grove and Wimberly (1966):

> ...The two universities became intensively competitive for support, particularly in the development of new graduate programs. This competition became the lens which focused the attention of the legislature and the state in the early 1950s on Florida's requirements for expanded higher education /p. 2/.

Therefore, in 1953 the state legislature in Florida passed an act authorizing the Board of Control ". . . to elect an education consultant who shall be an advisor on all educational problems to the board," and in 1954 the Board of Control created the Council for the Study of Higher Education, chaired by John E. Ivey, Jr. This was the first statewide study in Florida to focus solely on higher education. On a budget of about $94,000, the study enlisted the services of private as well as public institutions; representatives from business, industry, and state agencies; and consultants from ten different states, representing most geographical sections of the nation, who were affiliated with institutions of higher education, federal agencies, and private corporations. Topics examined during the study included such areas as the state's economy, the legal aspects of higher education, population studies, costs of higher education, student costs, leadership, moral values, population-supporting potential of counties, and graduate studies.

A full report of the council's findings and recommendations, Recommendations and General Staff Report (1956), was issued in July 1956. In general, the response of state officials to the recommendations was favorable; several legislative actions were taken to implement particular recommendations. The overall success of the plan owed a great deal to the strong endorsement and continued efforts of the staff of the Board of Control and its executive officer.

In addition to the immediate steps taken by the legislature to implement portions of the 1956 plan, other actions followed as well. For example, a major recommendation was that a system of community colleges across the state be developed, and before the 1956 plan was finished, the 1955 legislature established the Community College Council. This council consisted of ten Floridians, assisted by local study groups and advisory committees, and a corps of ten consultants recruited from all parts of the nation. The subsequent expansion of the community junior college system attests to the success and importance of the plan. In 1957 Florida had five community junior colleges; in 1969, it had twenty-seven. Thus, the 1956 plan resulted in a decisive and fundamental change in the character of higher education in Florida.

Brumbaugh et al (1956) point out that the planning effort of the early 1960s grew out of a resolution of the Board of Control to develop "role and scope" studies for each of the state university campuses, the resolution in turn relating back to a 1956 recommendation of the Council for the Study of Higher Education: "That the Board of Control assume more fully and more effectively the function of long-range planning and coordination" and "That steps be taken to achieve better coordination of programs among the institutions."

The role and scope studies were implemented by establishing special committees on each university campus to undertake a self-study. Reports from each of the campuses were submitted to the Board of Control, and their proposals were organized into four classes of proposals, having to do with: modifications of internal structure and processes to aid teaching and research; establishment of new programs or expansion of existing programs of instruction, research, or service; establishment or expansion of programs involving possible interinstitutional conflicts or unnecessary duplication; and establishment or modification of programs requiring the advice of outside consultants. The Council of Presidents, Board of Control staff, and outside consultants reviewed the various proposals and made their recommendations to the Board of

Control, which then took action on each of the recommendations, many of which were subsequently implemented. The studies and their results were published in 1965 in a document entitled, Role and Scope Studies, 1962-64.

At approximately the same time that the campus role and scope studies were being prepared, another planning activity was initiated. In November 1962, the Board of Control launched the Florida study of education in the space age with the approval and assistance of Governor Farris Bryant and the voluntary financial support of business leaders in the state through the Council of 100. Authorities in the physical sciences, engineering, information storage and retrieval, oceanography and hydrographic engineering, and space sciences and research, supervised and contributed to the study, published in 1963 under the title, A Feasible Course of Action for Florida's State System of Higher Education in the Space Age.

In 1966, shortly after the completion of the space age report and the campus studies, the Board of Control, newly reorganized as Florida's Board of Regents, began discussions with the Council of Presidents about a new master plan for higher education in Florida. Ten years had passed since the 1956 plan, and it had become apparent that the 1956 plan was inadequate to the challenge of Florida's rapidly expanding population and economy. The new plan, viewed as an extension of the council's report written ten years earlier, was published by the Board of Regents as Summary of a Master Plan for Post-Secondary Education in Florida, 1945-1975. Although the Council of Presidents gave its tentative approval to the plan, the Board of Regents took no action, using it instead, according to some staff members of the Board of Regents, as an informal plan for the state universities.

The most recent planning for higher education has been the result of several interrelated forces and events. During 1966-68 the public school teachers increasingly expressed dissatisfaction with salaries and the general quality of education in the public schools, which contributed significantly to the holding of a special session of the legislature on January 18, 1968. On February 14, the legislature adjourned after enacting an educational program which met with so much opposition from teachers that less than a month later the Florida Education Association Board of Directors submitted pre-signed, undated resignations of approximately one-half of the state's 60,000 public school teachers, and the National Education Association sanctioned ("black-listed") the entire state of Florida.

The previous year, Governor Claude R. Kirk, Jr. had appointed 30 of Florida's citizens to the Governor's Commission for Quality Education, to provide a master plan for making Florida "first" in education by 1975. In December of 1967, a report, Toward Excellence: Changing Concepts for Education in Florida, was submitted to the governor. Although most of this report was concerned with public school education, one recommendation called for a master plan in higher education. This reinforced an earlier action taken by the 1967 legislature, which had established a Select Council on Post-Secondary High School Education. This 15-member body, with representatives from the legislature, all segments of public and private education, and the public-at-large, is now attempting to develop a master plan for higher education and a mechanism for continuous statewide planning.

CONTEMPORARY STRUCTURE

Chart I depicts the organizational structure of higher education in Florida. A controlling element of state government in Florida is the cabinet system. In Florida, the cabinet includes the governor, commissioner of education, attorney general, secretary of state, treasurer, comptroller, and commissioner of agriculture (State of Florida, 1966), all of whom are elected directly by the people and therefore not directly responsible to the governor.

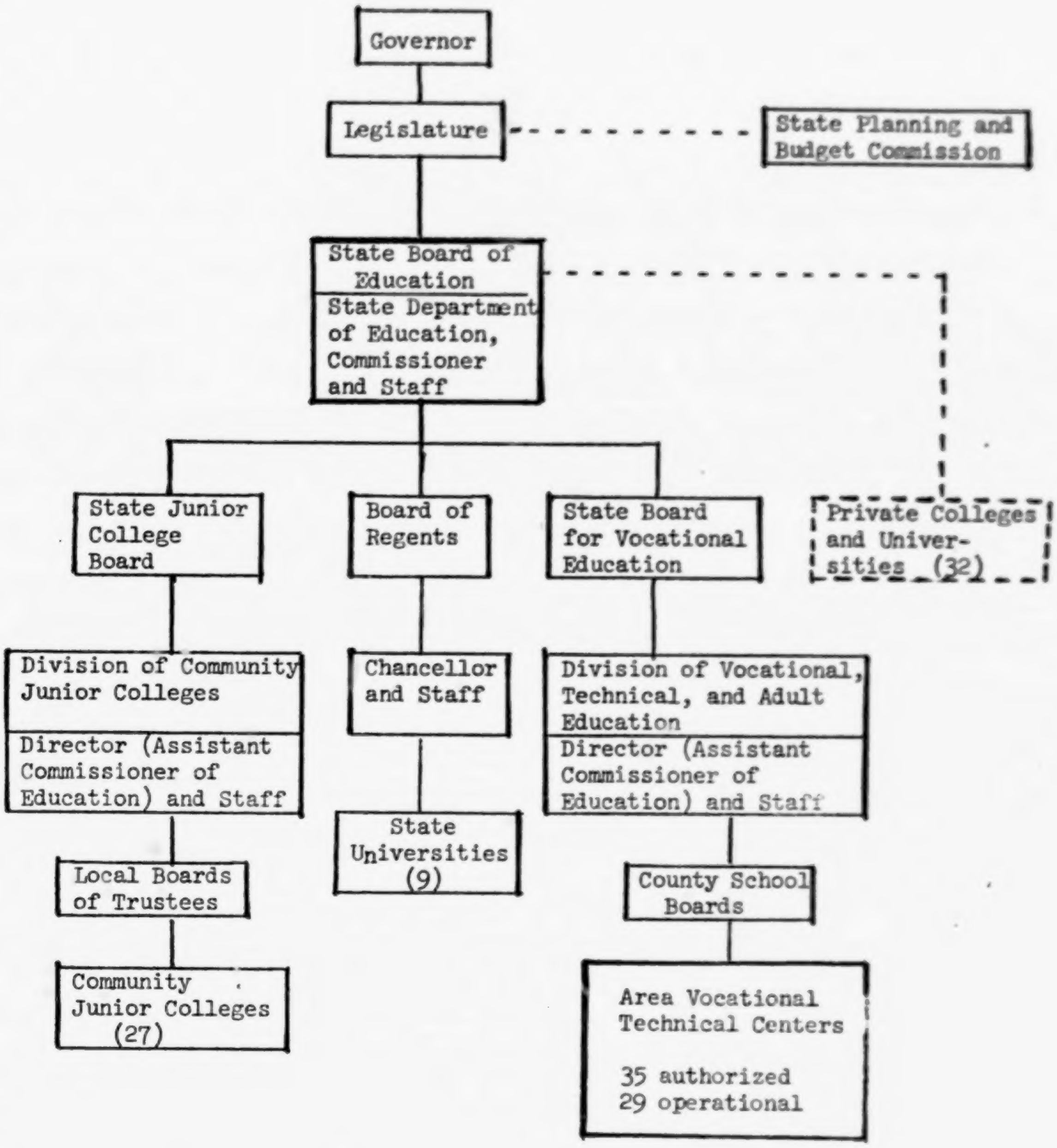
State Planning and Budget Commission. The commission includes all members of the cabinet, and its duties and responsibilities include activities related to: 1) annual legislative budgets, 2) annual operating budgets, 3) capital outlay budgets, 4) budgetary and administrative assistance, and 5) comprehensive statewide planning.

State Board of Education. The board is composed of all cabinet members, with the commissioner of education acting as its secretary It is responsible for the development and general supervision of public education at all levels, and it directs the State Department of Education, which serves in an administrative and supervisory capacity.

State Junior College Board. The board consists of seven members appointed by the governor for four-year terms. It is responsible for establishing statewide policies regarding the operation of public junior colleges and for determining effective ways to articulate and coordinate with other institutions.

Chart 1

Organizational Structure of Higher Education in Florida


Governor
Legislature
State Planning and Budget Commission
State Board of Education
State Department of Education, Commissioner and Staff
State Junior College Board
Board of Regents
State Board for Vocational Education
Private Colleges and Universities (32)
Division of Community Junior Colleges
Director (Assistant Commissioner of Education) and Staff
Chancellor and Staff
Division of Vocational, Technical, and Adult Education
Director (Assistant Commissioner of Education) and Staff
Local Boards of Trustees
State Universities (9)
County School Boards
Community Junior Colleges (27)
Area Vocational Technical Centers
35 authorized
29 operational

Division of Community Junior Colleges. The division develops plans and recommends policy to the State Junior College Board and serves as its professional staff. It also conducts studies, recommends new program areas, advises the State Board on the accreditation of junior colleges, and administers the disbursement of operating and capital funds. A Council of Junior College Presidents, Council on Academic Affairs, and Council of Business Affairs consisting of appropriate campus officers serve the State Junior College Board in an advisory capacity.

Boards of Trustees. Prior to 1968, junior colleges were organized and governed within local public school districts, with an advisory committee for each junior college. Today each junior college district is an independent, separate, legal entity with its own Board of Trustees for the governance and operation of the respective community colleges. Members vary from five to nine, depending on the number of counties in the junior college district, and are appointed by the governor with the consent of the senate. The board selects and appoints presidents of the institution(s) within their district, with the approval of the state junior college board; establishes policies for the efficient operation and general improvement of junior colleges; adopts minimum standards to supplement those set by the state board; and acts as the contracting agent for the junior college (Statutory Revision Department, 1968).

Board of Regents. The board consists of nine citizens appointed for nine-year terms by the governor with the concurrence of the senate. It is authorized to establish the policies, rules, and regulations under which the state universities are managed and operated; appoint and remove the chancellor and head of each institution; prepare a central budget for the state university system; approve the programs of instruction offered by the state universities; prescribe minimum standards for admission of students; coordinate all programs under its jurisdiction; conduct continuous studies to determine how efficiently and effectively policies and regulations are used; conduct space utilization studies; conduct studies of the immediate and future needs of the state in higher education; and coordinate credit and noncredit extension courses.

The working structure of the board includes a number of councils and interinstitutional committees which seek the advice and counsel of faculty and administrators. There are, for example, Councils of Presidents, Academic Vice-presidents, Deans of Education, and interinstitutional committees covering such areas as oceanography, nuclear science, libraries, international programs, institutional research, educational television, and continuing education.

Independent Colleges and Universities of Florida. This association's membership consists of 13 independent, privately supported, four-year accredited degree-granting institutions of higher learning. ICUF was formed in January, 1964 to encourage public awareness of the vital role played by these institutions in Florida's dual system of higher education.

CRITICAL DECISIONS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Decisions in three major areas have significantly shaped the structure and character of higher education in Florida: those with respect to goals for higher education, joint academic programs between institutions, and budgetary concepts and procedures for resource allocations. While long-range planning is viewed as an important process by which critical decisions are made, no discussion of it can slight the influence of governors, legislators, and chambers of commerce on the direction the process takes.

Although planning occurs at several levels within the educational hierarchy, the focus in the present section is on planning at the statewide and segmental levels (i.e., state universities, community junior colleges, and the private institutions). Hence, the major reference points are the 1956 statewide plan, the 1957 community college plan, the 1963 space age study, and the 1966 master plan. It is of considerable interest that analysis of these documents reveals the existence of problems, still unsolved, that had been repeatedly identified in all of Florida's earlier plans.

Statewide Goals.

Defining goals in higher education is complex and frustrating. The history of institutional autonomy in American higher education creates a special set of circumstances which has resulted in the organization of colleges and universities into individual segments, rather than statewide networks. The question of autonomy arises because development of statewide coordinating and planning agencies sometimes necessitates major reassignments of decision-making aread traditionally left to local campuses. But higher education in Florida has not yet reached this phase of development, and with no single agency at the state level exclusively responsible for higher education, the state has been forced to rely on _ad hoc_ study teams for planning at the state level. Currently, however, more planning on a continuous basis is being done by the segments; the Board of Regents and the State University System, for example, have engaged in a joint long-range developmental plan.

Quantitative Expansion and Efficiency. The orientation of the 1956 plan was quantitative. Its major recommendations dealt with the problems of rapidly increasing enrollments, the state's population having increased by 53 percent between 1940-50, and 48 percent between 1950-60 (U. S. Department of Commerce, 1947, 1957, 1967). The plan's principal recommendation was that the system should be expanded so that by 1970 at least 132,000 students could be accommodated; this represented about a three-fold increase above the number enrolled during 1955. These anticipated increases were based on a projected state population increase of from 2,771,000 in 1950 to more than 6,119,000 by 1970.

To cope with soaring enrollments, specific proposals for institutional expansions were made: That the existing state universities should accommodate a possible enrollment of 58,000 students by 1970 (a 176 percent increase over 1950 enrollments); the private institutions a possible increased enrollment of 12,000 students, making their total some 33,000 (a 57 percent increase); and the junior colleges an increase of from 2,438 in 1955 to 41,000 by 1970 (a 1582 percent increase). Actual full-time equivalent enrollment in Florida colleges and universities in 1967 was: total = 147,866; private institutions = 32,868;

State universities = 50,743;* and community colleges = 64,255 (Select Council on Post High School Education, 1968). Thus, the Brumbaugh and Blee (1956) projection for 1970 of a 132,000 student population was actually an extremely conservative one.

The legislature also authorized a new state university (now the University of South Florida), and the Council for the Study of Higher Education recommended a new institution (now Florida Atlantic University at Boca Raton, Palm Beach County) for lower Broward or upper Dade County (Miami area), and recognized that two more institutions might be necessary, one in the Jacksonville and the other in the Pensacola area. It was recommended that the three newly proposed institutions should concentrate their resources on instructional programs leading to the baccalaureate or first professional degree, and that additional expansion be limited until a later time when it would be warranted by need. In operation here was the seminal idea for what later became known as "senior institutions," i.e., campuses that offer upper division and master's level work only.** In part, this also reflects the protection of the "older" state universities as the major centers for graduate training and research, of the junior colleges in the area, and also of the private institution, namely, the University of Miami.

The findings of the Select Council also indicated that more students could be accommodated if the overall efficiency of existing state universities were increased. They found that the number of course offerings exceeded those necessary to meet institutional purposes; that programs were duplicated in the universities; and that there were an unjustifiable number of small classes.

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*Current estimates by the Board of Regents project a total enrollment of approximately 182,000 students in the state universities (nine campuses) by 1980.

**It should be noted that the "junior-senior" institution concept was basically developed after the Brumbaugh and Blee studies. The underlying rationale was primarily economic, not educational.

Quality Education. Although not selected for primary attention, the question of "quality education" was referred to several times in the 1956 report directly and indirectly, and cautionary statements, such as the following, were included:

> ...preoccupation with the requirements of an expanding institution is likely to interfere with the development of high-quality programs /p. 34/.
>
> Throughout these priorities there is implied the need for constant emphasis on the maintenance and improvement of quality. Preoccupation with expansion at the expense of quality of programs and services must not be permitted /p. 72/.

But since no specific guidelines were presented by which quality was to be measured or improved, the comments contributed little more than the "rhetoric of quality."

The Issue of Governance. The 1956 report did, however, pay considerable attention to matters of coordination and government of higher education. Of the 14 recommendations made, seven were related to such issues as: encouragement of students to attend institutions best suited to their needs; continuation of the general pattern of coordination; appointment of an executive officer for the Board of Control; appointment of a committee or board of regents for each state university; achievement of better program coordination; establishment of a conference of Florida college and university presidents; and formation of a liaison mechanism to relate programs of secondary schools, community colleges, and universities.

One of these recommendations is particularly important because it focuses on the issue of "dual control" in higher education, a problem discussed earlier in the 1929 and 1947 educational studies. In its complete form, this recommendation states:

> That the general pattern of coordinating supervision of state-controlled higher education through a statewide (the Board of Control) agency be continued.
>
> a. That the Board of Education, looking toward the time when the Board of Control should become an independent board, define areas in which the Board of Control has final authority and responsibility, subject only to the fiscal agencies of state government and the legislature.
>
> b. That the Constitution of Florida be revised to extend the terms for members of the Board of Control to seven years, that the members be selected in such a way as to make the Board representative of the interests of the state as a whole, and that the present restriction against residents of certain counties as members of the Board be removed.
>
> c. That the Board of Control be relieved of responsibilities for non-collegiate functions, and that all functions relating to state-controlled higher education be conducted through the universities under the Board.
>
> d. That the Board of Control assume more fully and discharge more effectively the function of long-range planning and coordination in higher education.
>
> e. That the agencies of state government that are properly concerned with higher education join with the Board of Control to develop procedures that will create such public confidence in the Board as to enable it to operate the state university system with an essential degree of freedom /p. xi/.

The issue of dual control refers in part to the relationship between the Board of Control and the State Board of Education, since the Board of Control, given the power to exercise policy and managerial controls over all state universities, is nevertheless under the "supervision and control" of the State Board of Education. Or, as Brumbaugh and Blee (1956) characterized this relationship:

> While Florida statutes provide, in the first instance, that the Board of Control has full authority over the operation of the state university system, other provisions of the law divest the Board of Control of the authority necessary for holding it accountable for the same operation [p. 40].

This disclaimer follows, however:

> In practice...the State Board of Education has been inclined to allow Board of Control action to stand without review, *except in a few critical instances*... [p. 40].

An effort to uncover the nature of the "critical instances" in general yielded little more than vague anecdotes, although a few particularly well-informed people were able to provide several specifics. These were related to intercessions by the State Board of Education and the governor in the choice of institutional presidents; appointments to the Board of Control, renamed the Board of Regents; major changes in the academic calendar; and continuing involvement in the selection of architects for university construction.

Toward a Clarification of Dual Control. In each of the instances mentioned, it was the governor's role rather than that of the State Board of Education *in toto* that was dominant, making it clear that it was not the relationship between the two boards at issue, but rather the relationship between the governor and the Board of Control. Also involved was the relationship between the Board of Control and the State Budget Commission and their operating agency, the Budget Division. The Budget Commission and Budget Director's office have exerted somewhat detailed and highly centralized control over university budgets. This might be termed "review control" rather than dual control, however, suggesting that the problem as witnessed in Florida and as frequently reported in other states mainly concerns the degree of control exercised by state agencies over higher education. This issue is fully covered later in the section on "Resource Allocations."

Dual control in Florida has been an issue since the Board of Control was created in 1905, and was repeatedly mentioned by interviewees. The issue has created confusion about authority, uncertainty about where responsibility lay for the making of critical decisions, and a general atmosphere of tension, uneasiness, and suspicion within the higher education network, particularly among state university personnel.

The issue of unnecessary control over higher education by certain state agencies was not resolved, however, by the measures proposed in the 1956 report. Again, in 1963, Florida's space age education study examined what they termed "Space Age Essentials in Relation to Policy and Control," consisting of 20 basic principles for governance in state higher education (Florida Board of Control, 1963). A strong position was taken, which recommended that "an effective governing board for... degree-granting higher education institutions" be established.

Space Age Manpower Needs. The space age study (1963) introduced a new kind of emphasis on wide goals for higher education.

Stimulated by manpower needs associated with the burgeoning space age industries, the report was a critical appraisal of Florida's higher education system and pointed to the woefully inadequate programs and facilities for graduate instruction and research. Recommendations were made for major expansions of programs and facilities for graduate education and research in mathematics, space sciences, engineering, and oceanography. While the study signified an acute awareness, concern, and sensitivity to substantive issues in Florida's higher education system, many interviewees felt that it was "too little, too late."

Goals for the Public Segments

1. The definition of goals for Florida's community junior college segment arose directly out of the 1957 long-range plan, which specified their mission and role as: university parallel education, terminal education, and adult education (Community College Council, 1957). A more recent statement cites five specific functions for the community junior colleges: 1) general education, 2) university parallel education, 3) occupational education, 4) continuing education, and 5) counseling (State Department of Education, 1967). Whereas five public junior colleges existed in 1957, today 27 comprehensive junior colleges absorb a substantial portion of the higher education enrollment.

A major unresolved issue concerns vocational-technical courses, which are given both in separate vocational-technical centers and in most community colleges. Today, some 23 vocational-technical centers are in operation, six of them in junior colleges as departments of vocational-technical training.

2. Interest in the specialized development of institutions in Florida dates back to the 1929 survey, in which the recommendation was that the University of Florida should be the chief center for graduate work (Education Survey Commission). The exclusive right of state universities to offer advanced graduate work was also preserved by the 1956 report, which proposed the addition of two new degree-granting institutions, specifying that "...offerings in the new institutions should be limited to those leading to the baccalaureate or first professional degree" (Brumbaugh and Blee, 1956). Several attempts also have been made by the Board of Regents to establish differentiation among state universities, the initial effort being that in the 1962-64 role and scope studies (Board of Control, 1965). The Board of Control failed to specify clearly a workable division of labor, however, and limited itself to listing current and projected degree programs for each institution. The 1963 space age report further supported the unlimited expansion of the state universities, and proposed the creation of: a university in the Canaveral-Orlando-Daytona Beach area; a state college in the Pensacola area; and ten or more state colleges before 1980. These recommendations were based primarily on two factors: the lack of sufficient graduate teaching and research programs in the space sciences and related fields, and the anticipated student population growth in higher education. Another underlying reason for the proposed expansions, according to many interviewees, was the pressure of special interest groups in business and industry. This seemed especially true with respect to the proposal for a new institution in the Orlando area (Board of Control, 1963).

The recommendations contained in the 1963 space age report signified important changes in the number and types of distinct segments in the higher education system. All state universities were essentially viewed as unlimited institutions, and a new segment of institutions, state colleges, was proposed.

Finally, the 1966 Master Plan differentiated the roles of "older" versus "newer" state universities, and recommended the establishment of urban state colleges. An attempt was then made to limit the expansion of programs within each state university in the interest of a more realistic division of labor and degree of specialization among these institutions. It was proposed, for example, that the University of Florida should be the only institution to offer particular programs in agriculture at the doctoral level, architecture, forestry, health-related professions, journalism and communications, law, medicine, and dentistry; and that Florida State University should be the only institution to provide programs in music at the graduate level, social welfare, graduate degrees in library science, and home economics at the doctoral level.

Each of the new institutions was authorized to offer a limited core of undergraduate programs and selected master's programs. Beyond this, any further development supposedly was to be controlled by at least three criteria: ". . . where 1) such offerings are in keeping with the objectives and integrity of the institution, 2) there is enough student demand, or likely to be enough demand, to make such offerings reasonably economical, and 3) such development has the approval of the Florida Board of Regents" (Board of Regents, 1966). Although these criteria are vague, members of the regents' staff apparently find them workable and meaningful.

The space age report and the 1966 regents' plan therefore differed on at least two counts: the former report called for "unlimited" development, while the latter report recommended limited expansion of the state universities; and whereas the space age report referred to the five universities together in the "unlimited" category, the 1966 plan differentiated between "older" and "newer" state universities by proposing different roles for those in each category.

Neither the 1963 space age document nor the 1966 Master Plan were officially adopted by the Board of Regents, and at present there is no clear position by the Board of Regents on a meaningful division of labor for the state universities. The 1966 plan was a victim of the change from the Board of Control to the Board of Regents, having been developed under the former board and never adopted by the new one. Not representing the official position of the present board, it is used by their staff only as an informal guide, and the universities use the plan when it supports their aspirations and ignore it when it does not. Division of labor among the state universities, however, is destined to be integral to the new master plan currently being developed by the Board of Regents.

The distinctions between campuses outlined in the 1966 Master Plan are regarded as inadequate by many faculty and administrators, however, especially at the two older institutions. There is anxiety that the recommendation in the space age study--that each university become a center of unlimited potential--will result in an uncontrolled proliferation of graduate and professional programs at the new state universities. The claim is that this demonstrates that planning and coordination are not yet committed to the "centers of excellence" concept, and that unless the expansion of the university system is more highly regulated, specialization of campuses may be forsaken. The "programs in contention" are engineering, oceanography, and to a lesser degree, medicine, because of the failure of the Board of Regents to establish program controls over these high-cost and prestigious areas. However, the recommendations for the unlimited development of the state universities contained in the space-age document may become the operating norm for the long-range development of these institutions.

During interviews in late 1968, members of the regents' staff defined the primary emphasis of the individual universities as follows: University of Florida--applied arts and sciences and professional schools; Florida State University--basic or theoretical aspects of the arts and sciences; Florida Atlantic University--the preparation and training of teachers; University of South Florida--the applied rather than theoretical with a concentration on meeting local community and industrial needs; University of West Florida--undergraduate liberal arts college with programs in teacher education and business administration; Florida Technological University--arts and sciences, education, and business administration, with particular attention to technological and related programs; and Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University--arts and sciences, with very limited graduate and professional offerings.

At the present time, the Select Council on Post High School Education also is discussing the problem of institutional differentiation; it is feared that if definitions and limitations are not imposed soon, community pressures will eventually push all universities into becoming fully comprehensive and duplicative.

3. Although the concept of state colleges has received considerable attention and support, not one of these institutions has yet been created. According to many interviewees, this deficiency reflects the influence of vested interest groups in the local community, which evidently were responsible for the state university constructed in Pensacola and also for the proposed institutions in Jacksonville and Dade County. State colleges generally are regarded as "second-class institutions" that cannot meet all the needs of local studetns, will not bring as much state funding to the community, and will limit buwiness and industrial development in the community because they do not engage in basic research or offer graduate study. Thus, in line with Florida's "every man for himself" political character, an extreme form of parochialism and self-interest has been responsible for blocking the development of state colleges. Each community has attempted to attract and hold whatever it could toward bolstering and promoting local developments, but it is a type of political philosophy and community identity that is changing as a result of reapportionmen and the recent emergence of the two-party system. What appears to be developing is a shift from a local community identity to a regional one centered in the major state university in the ares.

System Integration

Several administrative mechanisms link and unify the various component parts of Florida's system by facilitating coordination and communication between and within the various segments of higher education. There are several councils and interinstitutional committees within the state university and community junior college segments whose primary function it is to advise on the modification of existing programs, the need for new programs, and their assignment to particular campuses. In contrast to the integration provided by these administrative committees, relatively few joint academic programs were found in Florida. The concern in this section is for joint academic programs between institutions and segments: programs that require continuous collaboration and cooperation through a segmentwide or statewide office and involve the sharing of students, faculty, and facilities. Many joint programs are undoubtedly initiated by local campuses which involve the cooperation of two or more institution. But these programs are not the result of statewide planning or of critical decisions at the statewide or segmental levels.

Integration at the Statewide Level. The program that comes closest to a joint educational effort at the statewide level is the articulation between junior and senior colleges in Florida, or the "junior-senior concept," which began with the founding of Florida Atlantic University. In principle, the plan was to rely on the junior colleges to provide lower division work and to have the university focus its resources and energies on the upper division and graduate levels.

The critical factor of this cooperative arrangement is the free flow of students from junior to senior institutions. Many statewide and special conferences have been held on articulation, which evidently functions only marginally well. The transfer of credits in academic majors (such as languages, the sciences, and mathematics) is the most problematic area, since there are no standard requirements or accepted minimums in the state universities, and contracts or "gentlemen's agreements" are established on an institution-by-institution basis. The problem, as described by faculty at Florida Atlantic University, was that many transfer students were unprepared for upper division courses, and had to take special non-credit "bridge" courses, instituted to ease the transition of junior college transfers to upper division work.

From the transfer student's perspective, his poor performance record partially reflects inherent difficulties with the junior-senior design. When they change their majors or change their minds about the particular senior institution they wish to attend, students are sometimes forced to complete an additional year of academic work at the junior college or take lower division courses at the university. Effective counseling is impaired because of the informality of the transfer agreements.

Defining the role of community junior colleges in the area of teacher education has become a critical new issue in Florida. A task force consisting of state university and junior college representatives was formed to study the problem. The position taken by junior college representatives, and accepted by state university representatives, was that an introductory course in education should be offered in junior colleges to stimulate student interest in teaching. However, when the junior colleges wanted to offer a second course which would be transferable to the university as part of the professional education sequence, the universities balked, arguing that this was an infringement on the prerogatives of the university to provide professional training in teacher education. This controversy still awaits an amicable resolution.

Integration Within Segments. Only a few joint academic programs are functioning within the segments of Florida's higher education complex. However, more programs are being developed in engineering, oceanography, continuing education, and other areas under the aegis of the Board of Regents, and a Council for Junior College Affairs has been formed within the State University System to insure coordination of university and junior college programs. Also, certain private colleges are attempting to develop joint cultural and instructional programs and have plans to share special facilities, expensive equipment, and staff.

GENESYS. One variant of the joint academic program (GENESYS is an acronym for Graduate Engineering Education System), is operating at the University of Florida. This program, which offers degree and non-degree continuing education,was created in response to the space-age developments in the Cape Kennedy area. The system links classrooms at the main campus at Gainesville with those at three remote centers located at Cape Kennedy, Daytona Beach, and Orlando through closed-circuit television and audio telephone. A small faculty and administrative staff are located at each center.

Doubts are rising, however, about the viability of GENESYS in the area where there are already thriving institutions specializing in engineering, the space-related technologies, and basic physical sciences. Such programs are offered at Florida Institute of Technology, a private college which was opened at Melborne in 1958, and a new public institution in Orlando, Florida Technological University, opened in fall 1968 with a broad range of courses in the arts and sciences, business administration, and teacher education. Some interviewees predicted that the University of Florida will not easily surrender its beachhead in these areas, however, since they provide an important link for the university with several major businesses and industries.

Continuing Education. The programs and organization of continuing education have undergone a major redesign in Florida in recent years. During the 1950s, and into the 1960s, continuing education was a relatively small program administered by local campuses. In 1963, however, an important organizational mechanism--the Florida Institute for Continuing University Studies (FICUS)--was created to assume major responsibility for these programs in Florida.

The origin and termination of FICUS, directed by a close friend of the governor, are significant in the light of the obvious importance of political influences to the development of higher education in Florida. Many faculty and administrators were unhappy with the highly centralized and independent character of FICUS, and in time these dissatisfactions were echoed by legislators and a new governor. Thus, by May 1965, a new organization plan was adopted by the Board of Regents which added continuing education to their functions (Board of Regents Minutes, 1965a). According to a position paper on continuing education, the new plan represented "...a transition from a centralized operation to one of decentralized administration with centralized coordination..." (Council of Academic Affairs, 1967).

The report emphasized that "Inter- as well as intra-university cooperation must be realized as an integral part of the program if continuing education in Florida is to be a system-wide effort." Of particular importance were the steps recommended to increase the quality of continuing education, such as: periodic revision of correspondence courses, acceptance of correspondence study credit by the State University System, employment of staff professionally qualified to offer correspondence courses, and offering of on-campus courses only if an authorized degree program exists.

Reasons for the Lack of Joint Programs. Joint academic programs are difficult to achieve even under the most favorable circumstances. When faculty, administrators, and students feel strongly that their institution should preserve itself as an academic entity, cooperation between institutions becomes all but impossible. In addition, current budgeting concepts and procedures reinforce the single institution point of view.

It is also especially difficult in Florida to develop cooperative agreements because the state universities have their own administrative board and staff, as do the junior colleges, and these are loosely coordinated by the State Board of Education (Brumbaugh, 1968). The absence of a statewide higher education board with sufficient staff and overall responsibility for long-range planning and coordination means that no one agency has the responsibility for encouraging and supporting joint academic efforts.

Another factor bearing on future possibilities for joint programs is the growing regionalism within the state. Five areas (Miami, Tampa-St. Petersburg, Cape Kennedy-Orlando-Daytona Beach, Jacksonville, and Pensacola) are the fastest growing population centers of the state, and with the recent requirment for legislative reapportionment, the five centers will become bases for political power in Florida. Each of these areas will contain a major state university, plus a cluster of junior clleges, which may form an educational power block in bargaining for state resources. Given the earlier era of political "porkchopping" in Florida, it is likely that the emergence of regionalism could lead to more legislative logrolling at the taxpayer's expense, with massive duplication of education programs and facilities in the regions, and a loss of much of the former political strength of institutions in the Tallahassee-Gainesville areas.

While such regional developments might be seen as affording opportunities, few people have been responsive to them. However, it seems clear thata planned division of labor among the institutions in the various regions could be developed through the efforts of a statewide planning agency. Institutions in the Cape Kennedy area could specialize in the space-technology-engineering fields, for example, while colleges and universities in the Miami and Tampa-St. Petersburg areas specialized in programs germane to emerging metropolitan areas and urban problems. Distinct emphases could also be established for the other regions, so that each region's contribution to the overall higher education program would be unique. An alternative would be for colleges and universities within a region to establish joint programs that would utilize the strengths of public and private universities, four-year colleges, and community colleges. Thus, each institution would make a unique contribution toward the goals of the region while also contributing particular skills and resources to joint programs.

Resource Allocation

The 1956 plan presented the following assessment of Florida's levels of financial support for higher education: In 1953 Florida had ranked 33rd among the states in per capita support of state institutions of higher education, 30th in the percentage of per capita income used for higher education, and 20th in the percentage of total state general expenditures used to support institutions of public higher education, with the proportion of state income spent for higher education steadily declining (Brumbaugh and Blee, 1956). Although an optimistic outlook for the future was expressed, later data revealed conditions that were disenchanting.

Florida continuously lost ground nationwide in per capita amounts expended for public higher education between 1960 and 1965. In 1960 the average dollar amount of state general expenditures for state institutions of higher education was 15.99, whereas the figure for Florida was 11.13, and in 1965 the national amount was 27.24 compared with 19.73 for Florida (United States Department of Commerce, 1960). Yearly data compiled by Chambers on operating expenses for higher education reveal an uneven pattern of financial development in Florida. The 1961-63 increase was 23½ percent (national average, 24½ percent), 30 percent for 1963-65 (national average, 27¼ percent), 26 percent for 1965-67 (national average, 44 percent), and 64 percent for 1967-69 (national average, 43 percent).

The impressive increase for Florida during the most recent biennium was mainly the result of a special legislative session called in February 1968, from which higher education realized an additional $38 million, $1.5 million of which was for scholarships. Although in

1965 the legislature had felt that Florida's top high school students should be encouraged to remain within the state for their higher education, they had only appropriated $10,000 to carry out the purposes of the 1965 Act. The recent $1.5 million appropriation is thus the first major effort toward developing a state-supported scholarship program in Florida.

In addition to more operating funds for the state universities ($18.4 million) and for the junior colleges ($12.8 million), the $38 million appropriation included monies for planning two new degree-granting institutions (Miami and Jacksonville) and for a medical center and a medical school at the University of South Florida.

The special session literally bailed higher education (and lower education) out from an extremely precarious financial situation, but this was only possible after a crisis point had been reached. Florida ranked ninth in the nation in total population, ninth in public-school enrollment, and tenth in total personal income, but twenty-sixth in average teachers' salaries. The rhetoric of commitment to education was omnipresent, and governors from Collins to Kirk pledged to make Florida first in education without raising taxes. Such political propaganda undercuts the modern perspective of higher education as an income resource which pays ever-increasing dividends, and the culmination of these conditions was a full-fledged strike of public school teachers subsequent to the special legislative session in early 1968. Predictably, the new monies required to finance additional appropriations necessitated an increase in the sales tax and other consumer taxes.

The tax structure in Florida continues to be very narrowly conceived, and this remains a major unresolved issue in the state. By constitutional provision, Florida cannot levy an income tax on either individual or corporate income. It has been reported that business and industry pay only 7.87 percent of the total taxes collected in the state. The national average is about 18.17 percent, and for states in the southeast the average is 15.69 percent (Cass, 1968). Thus, Florida's taxing provisions severely restrict the generation of income for state services. Until major revisions to the tax structure are made, the future financing of higher education will be minimal at best.

Statewide Budgeting Concepts and Public Universities. In preparing the 1956 report, the Council on Higher Education faced the major task of projecting Florida's human and fiscal resources through 1970. Data were gathered in both public and private sectors of higher education on the current distribution of students, utilization of facilities, cost of instruction, average class size, student-faculty ratios, and faculty salaries. These studies were undertaken as different staff projects, and the studies and methodology not only resulted in estimates for 1970, but they significantly reinforced a growing interest in the formula approach to higher education budgeting in Florida.

Miller (1964) describes the state budget division's growing insistence during the early 1950s upon more complete and objective budgets from the institutions. Although the state auditor began to develop cost studies in 1955, work toward establishing a formula budget was not begun until 1956. Most of the early work to establish such a system was done by staff in the Budget Commission, and the first budget in higher education based on the formula approach was prepared in 1959.

The productivity formulas used today were derived during the Brumbaugh and Blee studies, and specify student-credit-hour production per full time equivalent faculty member by level as: 350 for lower division, 250 for upper division, and 120 for graduate level of instruction. These "Council Standards" are not strictly applied, but used as guidelines in the preparation of budgets; the figures actually used for appropriations in 1965 and 1966 were generally somewhat higher. The resentment voiced by faculty and administrators in public institutions when formula budgeting first appeared in Florida still persists today. In the analysis of the 1967-69 budget prepared by the Budget Director's Office, certain statements imply that an open perspective about the appropriateness and adequacy of the standards is necessary:

> Whether productivity expectations should be continued at the same general level, or should be increased, or should be decreased, is the key question at this point. On one hand, the distinguished Commission on Goals for Higher Education in the South makes the following assertion:
>
> > 'To instruct larger numbers of students with existing faculty, institutions must reduce the number of course offerings, experiment with class sizes, and make full use of all modern technological aids in teaching.'
>
> On the other hand, the Florida Board of Regents, in its requests, is in effect asserting that productivity levels currently expected in Florida universities are generally too high. Substantial dollar costs hinge upon the answers to this question (Office of the Budget Director, 1966, p. 670).

The Board of Regents' negative view about present formula budgeting was strongly reinforced by interviewees across the state who claim that it penalizes efforts to bring about substantive improvements to education, generates a tremendous amount of unnecessary paperwork, and necessitates an unusual degree of juggling by state universities to stretch funds in order to cover various needs.

There is little question that the Budget Commission and state budget director wield considerable power over public higher education. The general mood of the several recommendations in one of the study project reports reflects a fundamental concern about the concentration of power in these state agencies. For example, Morey (1956) states:

> ...some of the actions of the legislature, and some of the procedures established by administrative agencies to implement these actions, tend to violate the fundamental principle of management, that with responsibility must go authority commensurate with the nature of responsibility assigned, and sufficient to make it possible to meet such responsibility effectively. Wherever authority is extended, of course, these must be provision for complete accountability, but that does not imply a continuous examination and approval of every action and transaction /pp. 84-85/.

The consequences of such an arrangement are time-consuming, uneconomical, and inefficient. To illustrate: The legislature's practice, since 1933, of making appropriations to the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions for capital construction at the state universities, has forced the Board of Control to seek the commissioner's approval to use the appropriations; has kept the Board of Control, a corporate body, from holding title to its property, since this was vested in the State Board of Education; and has made it necessary for institutions to compile and submit extremely detailed budgets, and to seek yearly approval from the Budget Commission for the release of funds appropriated biennally by the legislature. At the least, institutions thus heavily restricted on the use of their funds are severely limited in their ability to change to meet local conditions.

The budget system presently in use for the state university system is performance budgeting with breakdown by object and function, requiring essentially the same amount of detail as for institutional and legislative budgets. Generally, formulas have replaced line-item detail except in those areas where there are no agreements on meaningful formulas, such as for plant maintenance and operation. The following description of the budgeting process as it operated during the 1965-67 biennium was given by a university budget officer:

> At the present time, there are twelve pages of legal size paper setting out the instructions for budget preparation. Budgets originate with departments in each of the universities. These departmental budgets are passed on to the president's office, who determines, along with the executive committee, what the shape of the budget will be. Earlier, before executive committees were created, the president essentially drew up the budget. Once institutional budgets are drafted, they are sent to the Board of Control. They, in turn, assemble the various institutional budgets and send them to the board members. The Board of Control then meets for intensive budget hearing sessions. Essentially, this is a group of tired old men. The board members set policies for different functional areas, i.e., instruction, research, extension, etc. Using these guideline policies, the staff of the board and the university presidents essentially work out new budgets aligned with the policy guidelines. A lot of give and take and compromising is done in this process. The final draft of the state university budget is then taken to the Budget Commission. But as you can well imagine, the Budget Commission never understands the institutional viewpoint and problems. A great deal of nitpicking goes on. For example, they cut salaries of faculty men if they so desire, a purely line-item budget operation, and the universities have lost a number of good faculty this way. The Budget Commission then forwards the budgets to the appropriate committees within the House and Senate. Here, the university presidents can lobby directly or talk to certain friends within the legislature and pieces of the budget are restored bit by bit. Once this is done, and the budget has been approved by the legislature, it goes back to the Budget Director and Budget Commission to be administered. Again, the process of nitpicking takes place. For example, if you wanted to get an appointment of a professor at a

> $15,000 a year salary, you needed to get specific approval of the Budget Commission. The delays are interminable. So you send out informal requests for approval because it takes 30-60 days to achieve formal approval from the Budget Commission. The informal request has not worked out very well in the past, however, because the governor does not like it; he wants full formal control over line-item faculty appointments. So two years ago they quit this informal approach. I can't emphasize too strongly that budgeting in this state is a highly personal operation and that the Budget Director dictates policy. He can act as a dictator if he wishes.

Certain important changes are occurring in this budget process. There is increasing support for program budgeting and re-tooling of its implementation throughout state government and the state university system in particular. The creation of an Office of State Planning and the hiring of a Legislative Auditor were both steps in this direction. The process of negotiation between individual state universities is also being modified in such a way as to reduce significantly the relative importance and contribution of the regents vis-a-vis the board staff in this process. Board of Control closed-door budget hearings, formerly held with each state university president separately, are now conducted as open sessions with all presidents and board members present. Consultation with the campuses has been significantly increased since 1968, in an effort to resolve all major conflicts prior to budget hearings with the board itself. Thus, the level of budget negotiations has moved from the Board of Control to the board's staff, which presumably increases the frequency of communication and also raises the level of professional expertise.

Several important steps were taken by the 1967 legislature to give more autonomy, especially in fiscal matters, to the Board of Regents. These included actions:

> ...to eliminate the supervision and approval of the board of education in establishing policies, rules, regulations, and powers exercised by the board of regents ...to delete the required concurrence of the board of education in the appointment and tenure of a chancellor, of institution or agency heads and of other university personnel including compensation and conditions of employment... (Senate Bill No. 25, 1967)
>
> /Require that/...all budgets for the state university system shall be submitted to the budget commission as board of regents' budgets for the entire system. The board of regents' budget shall, so far as practicable, be a composite summary of the overall needs of the state university system ...Appropriations for the state university system or the respective institutions and agencies within the system shall be made to the board of regents...and may be transferred by the board to or from any institution... The operating budgets...shall be submitted to the budget commission, which shall review the same in the light of programs the board is authorized by law to perform... (Senate Bill No. 27, 1967)
>
> ...to eliminate the requirement of approval by the budget commission as to salaries over $15,000 paid to university faculty... (Senate Bill No. 27, 1967).

However, not much of this newly-won autonomy by the regents has yet been re-delegated to the university presidents, who to date have been granted authority to set the salary for deans (based on an average computed for the system), and to keep accounts on construction projects. Purchasing and transfer of funds within budgets are still centrally controlled, whereas the control of research contracts and grants has always been generally decentralized and primarily under local campus officials.

Year-Round Operation. Florida's experience with year-round operations has been unusual: Three major calendar shifts occurred in a very short period, and the legislature and governor were markedly and heavily involved in the changeovers. Adapted from a report of the Secretary of State, the chronology of events concerning the calendar changes was as follows:

> Spring 1961. Legislature appropriates biennial funds for higher education contingent on implementation of a year-round system of operation, i.e., either a trimester or four-quarter system.
>
> January 1962. Council of Presidents recommends to the Board of Control that a trimester system be adopted and board approves.
>
> September 1962. Trimester system goes into effect at state universities.
>
> September 1964. Gubernatorial candidate Haydon Burns announces that one of his first acts as governor will be to abolish the trimester, which he describes as a "noble experiment" but "ineffective." He promises a return to the semester calendar by September 1965.
>
> November 1964. Haydon Burns elected governor; Board of Control changed to Board of Regents by constitutional amendment.
>
> December 1964. Burns questions the incumbent governor's right to appoint the newly created Board of Regents, on the ground that his appointees presumably would continue to support the trimester system.
>
> January 1965. Despite Burns's opposition, Governor Bryan appoints first Board of Regents, approved by the Board of Education. Burns, insisting on abandonment of the trimester calendar, announces he will bypass the Board of Regents and use the powers of the State Board of Eeucation to appoint a study committee in order to defeat the trimester scheme, and that he will ask the State Supreme Court to overthrow Bryan's appointments to the Board of Regents.
>
> February 1965. State Supreme Court advises that the terms of the present Board of Regents' members expire on the convening of the Florida Senate.
>
> March 1965. The Board of Regents resigns, and Governor Burns makes new appointments.

> November 1965. Governor Burns directs educational administrators to dispose of the trimester system before the May primaries so that it will not be a political issue.
>
> February 1966. The Board of Regents, acting on a recommendation of the Council of Presidents and the Inter-institutional Committee on Year-Round Operation, adopts the quarter system effective September 1967.

Thus, in a three-year period, public higher education in Florida shifted from the semester to the trimester, and finally to the quarter system, each of the changes heavily influenced by political forces and pressures, and never fully assessed for their educational consequences. Although faculty committees convened on several state university campuses to advise the Regents, many faculty expressed the view that their opinions had been essentially ignored during the decision-making process. On the other hand, no single faculty view about a preferred calendar emerged from the interviews.

Budgeting for the Community Junior Colleges. The historic 1957 report on the community junior colleges recommended a method of financing referred to as the Minimum Foundation Program, which had been developed in 1947 for grades K-12. An entirely separate Minimum Foundation Program was created for the junior colleges because of the greater expense of education at the post high school level.

The Minimum Foundation Program for junior colleges is essentially a formula budget based on instructional units, with a minimum level of support per unit. An instructional unit is defined as one unit for 12 students in ADA for the first 420 students, and one unit for 15 students above 420. Administrative and special instructional services are calculated at one unit per each eight instructional units, and student personnel units are derived on the ratio of one unit per each 20 instructional units. Determination of the Minimum Foundation Program for a college takes into account: a base for instructional salaries, other current expenses, and transportation; the cost that the county or counties must contribute to the program; and the funds that the state must provide.

Both the state university and community junior college budgeting schemes share the weakness common to all formula budgeting techniques; based on a measure of current instructional activities only, they relate yearly or biennial increment to work in progress without taking into account the results of the activity. This is becoming an increasingly dubious path to pursue, given the growing concern and pressures in higher education to clarify and implement educational objectives. In commenting specifically on Florida's Minimum Foundation Program, Wolfman (1968) stated:

> ...the Foundation Program is certainly far better than the traditional line-item budget. It has served to reduce budgetary chaos and purely arbitrary allocations of resources. It suffers from the weakness that it related budget increments to work in progress without any recognition of the outputs or the 'value added' of the activity; i.e., budgets are based on students enrolled in the system, not on the rate which students make progress through the system. In many instances formula budgets, like the Minimum Foundation Program, actually create incentives which run counter to optimal factors. I am sure there are instances which run counter to optimal factors. I am sure there are instances where the allocation of resources based on the concept of 'instructional units' severely constrains what is needed for effective production of outputs. Formula budgets suffer from the weakness that all members of what may be a diverse system are on the same fixed standard, thus discouraging unique differences and failing to exercise sufficient control. Thus obsolete programs continue to use resources with the result that 'good' programs get insufficient support and the inadequate continue to be supported [pp. 24-25].

EDUCATIONAL AUTONOMY

Planning in Florida has played an instrumental role in the establishment of policies about goals, differentiation between institutional types, and the allocation of resources for higher education. The degree and manner of implementation of policies and recommendations have been heavily influenced, however, by interest groups both within and outside the educational establishment. The interplay of these forces is fundamental to understanding the progress and set-backs in the development of higher education in Florida.

What has been the impact of these statewide decisions upon the educational autonomy of the local college or university? Shifting perspective from the statewide level to that of the individual institution, the primary concern of this section is with those factors which influence a college's or university's ability to achieve its academic objectives and programs. This is the core of "educational autonomy," a term which will also be used to assess how well the higher education network has been able to meet its goals.

Creation and Expansion of Community Junior Colleges

From the point of view of administrators and faculty in junior colleges, as well as other educators throughout the state, probably the single most important achievement of statewide planning in Florida was the development of the community college system. A plan for the addition of some 25 junior colleges and for joint state and local financial support was formulated in 1957 and today this plan has been essentially implemented. The Minimum Foundation Program, created specifically for junior colleges, generates operating funds over which the president of each junior college, within the limits of certain state laws and regulations, has essentially complete freedom.

An arrangement similar to that for operating funds exists for capital construction monies. The state by law can issue funds up to 100 percent of the construction costs, and once appropriated, the local college has considerable freedom to decide on the type and style of building to be constructed. Minimum building costs of $15 per square foot were recommended in the 1957 plan, but these can be exceeded if local or other funding sources are available.

The pattern of control over these institutions as developed in the 1957 plan emphasized the importance of the local community, possibly flowing from the fact that the community colleges were established as part of and responsible to local county school boards. When this proved to be an unnecessarily restrictive arrangement, a statute was passed in the 1968 special legislative session which established local boards of trustees, legally independent from local county boards. In time, this release from the perspective and standards for public schools should increase the educational autonomy of the junior colleges, which more and more will relate to their counterparts in higher education.

Although the expansion of this system has been impressive, and the role of junior colleges as part of higher education has been significantly strengthened, certain problems persist. For example, the level of financial support and method of financing through the Minimum Foundation Program has been a target of increasing criticism, as has the capital construction program, under which construction, renovation, and replacement of existing facilities are seriously delayed. Recent figures show a $90 million backlog of unfunded projects and an additional $120 million of construction needed over the next biennium.

Local campus officials contend the modest levels of operating and capital budgets significantly limit the quality of existing programs and hinder the establishment of new programs. Urban junior colleges face a particularly difficult situation because of the expanding needs of a more diverse student body.

Problems of Articulation

One of the major problems of articulation has resulted from the decision to build a junior-senior system of public higher education, with community colleges providing an increasing proportion of lower division work, and the state universities (even some private institutions) concentrating more of their work at the upper graduate levels. For such a system to work smoothly, a careful and workable system of agreements between institutions is necessary. To date, a number of the junior colleges see themselves at the mercy and whims of the senior institutions, which function as "gatekeepers," since they essentially set the standards and procedures for junior college transfers. Articulation is further complicated by variations in university requirements. An important consequence of this for many faculty, administrators, and students is the perceived second-class status of junior colleges.

The problem of articulation continues, despite the variety of conferences and seminars held and the *ad hoc* agreements struck to the effect that state universities will accept general education credits approved by the junior colleges. The many criticisms leveled at articulation may reflect a means of status enhancement for senior insititutions, who constantly chide the junior colleges about the quality of their transfer students and readiness for the "difficult and challenging" work at the university; a realization that articulation is a continuous problem never to be solved; and a habitual response by junior college people because of systematic intimidation by senior institutions. There can be no question that a continuing problem does exist, with elements of both fact and fiction, and as long as it prevails, the effectiveness of the community colleges in transfer programs will at best be troublesome. Possibly the newly formed Council for Junior College Affairs within the State University System will lead to further improvements in this area.

Institutional Differentiation and Budget Formulas

Interviewees at the state university campuses frequently voiced concern about the capability of the campuses to fulfill their assigned roles in view of the insufficient resources allocated. Formula budgeting obviously favors the quantitative growth of institutions. Since gross amounts of operating money are allocated in direct proportion to enrollments, an institution which has reached its enrollment ceiling generally cannot expect much increase in funds to improve quality and expand the curriculum.

"Newer" institutions like Florida Atlantic University and the University of South Florida complain of a somewhat different problem, also as a result of formula budgets--the virtual impossibility of building programs and staff ahead of anticipated enrollments. For example, while it normally takes at least three to five years of lead time to initiate a new graduate program, the actual lead time reported by several faculty and administrators was one or two years. This problem is not unique to newer institutions; older institutions report the same difficulties. The problem is particularly bothersome to new institutions, however, because of their need to develop numerous new areas and programs simultaneously.

The problem of resource allocation is further complicated by the markedly different perspectives on the "centers of excellence" and budgeting concepts. Staff at the newer institutions and certain legislators, especially those from more populous and expanding parts of the state, maintain that the two older institutions should have an enrollment ceiling placed on them, so as to divert enrollments to the newer campuses; that not two, but possibly five campuses ought to become comprehensive institutions; and that budgeting priorities and formula allocations should be the same for each level of instruction across all university campuses.

Faculty and administrators at the two older institutions maintain, however, that the older institutions should be the sole comprehensive universities within the state university system; that despite the board's avowed position, it has willingly raised ceilings in the past; and that different budget formulas, reflecting both the size of the institution and its productivity of doctoral degrees, should be used for the older institutions.

When there is such dissension within an educational system, it is particularly vulnerable to political and local pressures.

A proposal that suggests a compromise between the idea of two centers of excellence and the idea of unlimited development of all state universities is currently being considered by the Select Council on Post High School Education (SCOPE). The proposal is that each university should develop a particular emphasis and in that sense become a center of excellence. The University of Florida and Florida State University would therefore emphasize their traditional strengths and expand only in those areas not highly dependent on resources for meeting problems of large metropolitan areas. And institutions such as the University of South Florida and the new public institutions proposed for Miami would specialize in areas directly related to manpower needs and urban problems.

The fundamental problem that higher educational policy in Florida must solve is how to build distinctions between state universities when the faculty and administrators in all institutions prefer an inclusive definition of their mission and role. Today, the University of Florida and Florida State University are comprehensive institutions, and trends in population growth favor the aspirations of the newer institutions to become comprehensive. The result could be nine universities demanding co-equal status and pressing for unbridled expansion of all programs and services. The uncertainties generated by these conditions and the energies expended by the institutions in battling for jurisdictional rights must in some part detract from their educational autonomy, and too rapid expansion of the newer state universities can be expected to undermine effective educational processes. Clearly, careful consideration to the kind and rate of expansion in all state universities is extremely important to their future.

SCOPE's proposals for differentiation are promising; if adopted, they should check the unnecessarily expensive development of the state university system. Many interviewees at the campuses, however, maintained that the critical point of decision has passed because the state has failed in it attempts to build state colleges and because, as a consequence of a highly emotion-laden and politicized struggle, all existing and proposed universities are destined to become fully comprehensive. The problem was summarized by a Florida state official:

> We are oversupplied with universities in this state. The name means a great deal in that it motivates a drive to all kinds of things. It is a symbol of aspirations and what an institution will be. It is much harder to control it if it is labeled 'university' because the local campus, as well as the local people, want university status in all of its respects. Florida now has seven universities and the possibility of two more very soon, while California has nine. And yet Florida has one-third the population of California.

"Centers of Excellence": The Case of Florida Atlantic University

A good illustration of how various factors, including limited budgetary support, can hinder planned differentiation between institutions is shown in the development of Florida Atlantic University. The plan for Florida Atlantic called for an experimental institution that would delegate to students a large responsibility for their education, offer programs at the upper division and master's degree levels only, and rely heavily on televised instruction and a computerized learning resources center (Board of Control, 1961).

The concept of a "senior institution" was new to Florida higher education and it represented a bold step by the Board of Control.

Many Florida educators felt that an institution with no lower division was suspect; several interviewees at other Florida state universities predicted that in time freshman and sophomore levels will be added to make the institution more "realistic" or "legitimate."

The plan to place heavy emphasis on computerized instruction was designed by outside consultants, and a number of administrators and faculty neither fully accepted the original plan nor agreed with significant parts of its underlying rationale. Furthermore, computerized and televized instruction demanded a considerable investment in special facilities and expensive equipment, which the state legislature did not sufficiently support.

Florida Atlantic University has also had difficulty in two other critical areas--faculty recruitment and the choice of site. In the summer of 1963, its president held a major conference on campus to discuss the concept of the new institution with a carefully selected group of outside educators. The goal, to induce some of them to accept key appointments, was not achieved. Florida Atlantic's campus site--Boca Raton--also was important to its evolution. The Board of Regents had required that, along with other established criteria, public universities must be built on donated land of at least 1,000 acres. Although one member of the Board of Control from Broward County was a strong proponent for a location somewhere in his county, no satisfactory bid was made because of competing business interests in the county and conflict over a site location. On the other hand, interest groups in Palm Beach County were able, with the help of their local congressman, to persuade the Federal

Aviation Authority to declare a local airbase as surplus. This property, first given to the city, eventually went to the state for the new university.

The choice of the Boca Raton site had important liabilities that played no minor role in shaping Florida Atlantic University. Although, as an upper division institution, Florida Atlantic was to be dependent on transfers from nearby junior colleges, only the School of Education had plans for effective articulation with junior colleges in the area. A related problem emerged when the transfer students enrolled in the university. As Wimberly (1966) described it:

> The exclusively upper-division courses...were not satisfactory as electives for many students across the university, and...did not provide prerequisite courses for students wishing to take work in a new field. A check with the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Florida indicated that their juniors and seniors were taking one-fifth of their upper-division work in lower-division courses. All this strongly suggests that an exclusively upper-division university cannot subsist on exclusively upper-division courses. Beginning in September 1966, a three credit "bridge course" will be added to the offerings of each of the six departments. These courses will present for their discipline the most essential concepts found in the standard year's work at the sophomore level.

The fact that the major transportation route between Boca Raton and Miami is a thruway with a substantial toll charge also constituted a major liability. Although the original planners had rejected the idea of a commuter institution, subsequent planning reversed this stand without, however, being able to effect any reduced "educational rate," all special rates having been precluded by the conditions under which the turnpike had been financed.

Florida Atlantic has also experienced fiscal problems. A special and higher (by 40 percent) student-credit-hour productivity level was set for this institution, based on the highly questionable argument that technological devices should result in a more efficient instructional process. Yet this resulted in a level of operating support considerably lower than that enjoyed by other state universities in Florida. One interviewee suggested the consequences of this formula:

> The attempt to use learning resources to substitute for the number of professors has not worked. One of the problems here is that we did not get the staff that was needed to do the necessary research and development work for getting the program off the ground.

This combination of circumstances has severely impeded the institution's fulfillment of its mission and role, and it has been necessary to make several fundamental changes in the original plan. These have included a more conventional library, block-scheduling to accommodate commuter students, bridge courses, residential dormitories, a greater emphasis on programs in technological areas, and the recent addition of an extension center. However, since nearby institutions--Miami-Dade Junior College and the University of Miami--offer similar or identical programs, it is not clear how the extension program fits into Florida Atlantic's innovative, experimental thrust.

The university is currently working toward understanding its special problems more fully and implementing corrective measures. For example, to meet the recent decline in enrollments, steps have been proposed for augmenting recruiting activities and programs for financial assistance to students. Also, adjustments have been made to partially resolve imbalances in faculty loads between the sciences and social sciences, and the professional programs. This problem was cited as a result of certain unique features at Florida Atlantic, where the professional baccalaureate programs contain almost 67 percent of the institution's enrollment.

With respect to quality, Florida Atlantic is the only institution in Florida that administers the Graduate Record Examination to all its graduates. Compared with national norms, Florida Atlantic's graduates for 1966, 1967, and 1968 ranked significantly higher than earlier graduates in such fields as biology, chemistry, economics, education, and sociology (Vice President for Academic Affairs, 1968).

Program Review and Unnecessary Duplication

A variety of councils and committees work with the Board of Regents' staff in the development of academic programs and curricula. The functioning of this structure can be demonstrated by examining the process whereby new programs are approved in the state university system.

The process for proposing new graduate programs was described in a document prepared by the board. In summary:

A proposal is prepared by the institution and is submitted to the Board of Regents Office for Academic Affairs and to chief academic officers of all state universities and faculty committees for review and evaluation. The chief academic officer submits the evaluations to the Office of Academic Affairs, which prepares a summary of evaluations and distributes copies of it to all members of the Council for Academic Affairs. The council discusses the proposal at a regular meeting and decides whether or not to recommend its approval to the Council of Presidents. Recommended proposals are then submitted to the Curriculum Commitee of the Board of Regents, which makes its recommendations at a regular meeting. If the Board of Regents approves the proposal, the proposing institution is authorized to institute the new program at the time specified by the proposal.

This process seems to work fairly well and is, in general, strongly endorsed by the institutions. Interviewees of state universities mentioned the following advantages: It provides a check-and-balance process whereby political maneuvering is minimized; it forces the institution to examine the basis for its proposal thoroughly; having new programs evaluated by faculty and administrators at other state universities who contribute their expertise and judgment helps to strengthen the programs; and it establishes a means of communication between state universities about new developments and anticipated expansions within the state university system.

Some individuals at one of the older state universities, however, saw the process as essentially a logrolling one, which actually used no objective outside judgments. A major problem, that of unnecessary duplication and proliferation of programs and curricula, is not touched on by this process, and the scheme further breaks down on high cost, "glamor" programs, best illustrated by examining what might be labeled as "programs in contention."

Programs in Contention

Problems of program review and unnecessary duplication are usually associated with certain professional and graduate programs. With respect to the development of medical schools, for example, the legislature mandated in 1949 that the University of Florida be the only public institution authorized to have a medical school (the University of Miami opened its medical school in 1952). The concern was that unfettered expansion of medical schools would not only undermine the status of the University of Florida, but also jeopardize adequate financing of its medical school. However, this position of unchallenged domain in medical education was not to last.

In 1965, on the basis of data substantiating the need, the legislature authorized a medical school to be located at the University of South Florida. Although a medical school was not part of the original plan for this university, nor was the possibility of creating one ever considered by the Board of Regenst, a legislative delegation for the Tampa - St. Petersburg area was able to marshall enough influence to procure the authorization. The University of Florida felt that its plans for opening a dental school and expanding the medical school were threatened by this development, and certain vested interests asserted, "It is ever more apparent that the centers of excellence notion is being significantly questioned."

The development of engineering schools was another case in point. The University of Florida had long maintained the only fully comprehensive engineering school in the public sector. And in 1963 it initiated GENESYS (Graduate Engineering Education System) to serve the Cape Canaveral, Daytona Beach, and Orlando areas, a way of meeting local needs without constructing new engineering schools. However, the creation of new state universities re-opened the question of additional schools of engineering, and local chambers of commerce again began to marshall support for engineering schools on most of the new state university campuses. The in-fighting and politicking that arose led to a major study.

On March 28, 1966, the Florida Council of State University Presidents authorized a Role and Scope Study of Engineering Education in the State of Florida to be directed by the Board of Regents. The report stated that:

> The University of Florida has proliferated the academic structure of its engineering college, resulting in fragmentation of its academic goals and a dissipation of its already limited resources over too broad a spectrum of programs.
>
> The GENESYS operation administered by the University of Florida is well designed technically. The operational costs are expectionally high, however, in light of the educational programs being carried out. . .there was misunderstanding and confusion in the minds of many members of the industrial community regarding what types of programs are actually offered through GENESYS.

> The engineering program at the University of South Florida is well underway, and the initial engineering building design and construction is an outstanding accomplishment.
>
> Florida State University has a program in engineering science that is oriented toward graduate study. . .other types of engineering [study] should not be started. . .(Florida Board of Regents, 1967).

The panel recommended the construction of two additional engineering schools in Florida between 1968 and 1976, one at Florida Technological University and another at Florida Atlantic University, the latter to receive first priority.

Two observations regarding the developments in engineering education should be noted:

The role of private institutions in engineering was not clearly delineated; although the study team visited Florida Technical Institute and the University of Miami, their engineering education programs were only superficially examined. And the type of engineering education appropriate to each of the state universities was only minimally outlined. Florida State University, for example, was to continue to offer "engineering science" programs, but the limits of these programs were not specified. Similarly, no particular guidelines were given to the University of Florida for unifying and concentrating their "fragmented" program in engineering. Finally, the proposed School of Engineering at Florida Atlantic was not clearly related to the longstanding engineering program at the University of Miami.

Because of the vague criteria used for the development of engineering programs, much leeway exists, and special interest groups can both obliterate the possibilities for division of labor among campuses and pressure the state into a heavy and possibly unwarranted investment in engineering education. The development of engineering programs on too many campuses weakens the potential strength of each program and perpetuates the problem of limited resources being spread too thinly among several campuses.

If the centers of excellence concept is threatened by a proliferation of engineering programs, the expansion of oceanography programs presents an even greater threat. The following statement captures the views of many of the interviewees who discussed the development of oceanography in Florida:

> Proliferation of oceanography programs is a key problem. This situation can be corrected only through courage at the state level. Many graduates of the University of Florida and Florida State University are members of the legislature and are trying to protect their interests. And it is very difficult for the Board of Regents to be objective and courageous on matters so important to each state university. However, in the next few years we expect a big change through reapportionment and a more effective leadership role on the part of the Regents. But the development of oceanography so far best illustrates a theme that has become famous in Florida...one man, one vote, one county, one state university operation. And with 67 counties in the state, each seems intent on reaching this goal regardless of its consequences for other counties or the state as a whole.

The study done in 1966 for oceanography distinguished between three types of emphases in this field: estuarine, deep sea, and related sciences, or those which could be studied in the laboratory rather than in a marine environment. Institutions were advised to restrict their research and teaching endeavors to the areas best suited to their existing facilities, and all institutions were granted permission to develop master's programs when desired, as long as they met the regents' criteria for new graduate programs.

The report gave scant attention, however, to the level and type of teaching programs offered except for those under the general rubrics of estuarine, deep sea, and related areas. Thus, it is still quite possible for all institutions assigned the general responsibility for estuarine studies, for example, to develop parallel programs and possibly proliferate to the point that scarce talents and finances become spread dangerously thin across institutions. There was also no extended discussion of the existing and projected estuarine and deep sea teaching and research programs; no major questions were raised and no modifications were suggested. And the comments and recommendations about educational programs in oceanography, related sciences, and technology state in essence that Florida State University (classical oceanography) and Florida Atlantic University (ocean engineering) should continue doing what they are doing, and that all other universities check with the Regents if they desire programs in these areas.* Some of these problems may be met by the recently appointed marine scientist on the chancellor's staff, whose task it is to coordinate teaching and research programs in this area.

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*Not mentioned in this report is the more recent development of a Ph.D. program in marine biology at the University of South Florida, which draws upon excellent facilities at the Bay Campus in St. Petersburg.

Despite the repeated evidence that weaknesses related to program allocation can open the door to pressure groups, state universities continue to develop and expand programs pretty much as they like, some using the data of studies to justify their expansions. The major questions are whether the state can afford this kind of expansion, and will support it.

Politics and Educational Autonomy

The significant role played by political bodies and special interest groups in the development and evolving character of higher education in Florida has created a great deal of suspicion, uncertainty, and frustration for many educators throughout the state. It is difficult for quality education to function effectively within such an open and omnipresent cobweb of competing special interests.

Political expediency even became an issue in year-round operation, which has had direct implications for the educational autonomy of the state universities. It is commonly held that the new calendar was adopted because the "porkchop" legislature, unwilling to accede to faculty requests for higher salaries, instituted year-round operation so as to give faculty another semester of salary while increasing the capacity of the state university system to accommodate more students. The shifts over a three-year period from semester to trimester to the quarter system has generated tremendous uncertainty, confusion, and anxiety for administrators, faculty, and students. The faculty felt that their involvement in and influence upon each calendar shift was minimal and bitter disputes developed over alternate calendars.

The legislature moved in this matter without taking into account the consequences of a calendar shift for articulation between junior colleges and state universities.* In general, the junior colleges operate on a semester calendar, which does not fit easily with the state universities' four-quarter system. A junior college at Tallahassee plans to change to a quarter basis and build its transfer curriculum in close relationship with the requirements set by Florida State University, and one other junior college, in Gainesville, already operates on the quarter system.

Thus, the academic calendar change has produced fundamental problems in the restructuring of programs and curricula. More importantly, it has created a climate of distrust and uneasiness among educators about the commitment of state officials to the improvement of higher education. And in the minds of many academicians, this action of the legislature is another example that demonstrates a lack of confidence in educators to manage, operate, and plan a system of higher education for Florida.

In a different but related situation, certain legislators have strongly indicated their support for a merger between Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University and Florida State University, although both institutions are opposed to it. The fate of Florida A and M has been hanging in the balance since at least the early 1960s, but no intensive studies have been undertaken to evaluate alternate futures for it. A gradual phasing-out of the institution was suggested by the Board of Regents in one draft of their '66 master plan, and a bill to this effect was introduced into the legislature, but alumni and political pressures forced deletion of the recommendation from the master plan and withdrawal of the legislative bill.

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*The academic calendar is once again under discussion; many students are complaining that the pressure is too great under the quarter system and that there should be a reversion to a semester or trimester plan.

The Present and Future

Because of the major commitment made them by local and state budgets, the junior colleges have been able to fulfill the broad mission and role delegated to them in the 1957 plan. Presently, their method of financing through the Minimum Foundation Program is under review and new, more responsive forms of support are being considered. Although articulation has received careful attention in the past, basic problems continue and are highlighted as Florida moves toward the junior-senior design.

Of all institutions, the state universities, collectively and individually, have been affected to the greatest extent by long-range planning activities. Because the attempts to establish state colleges in Florida have failed, the state university system has been burdened by many of the educational responsibilities that state colleges might have assumed. Since the establishment of five new state universities in the 1960s, serious questions have arisen regarding the missions and roles of the older state universities as distinguished from the newer ones. While relationships between the Board of Regents and various state offices have improved, several problem areas persist. And budgetary formulas, originally proposed in the 1956 plan, are both lean and subject to varying interpretations and applications. One result has been that new experimental institutions have received only partial support.

Thus, higher education in Florida faces a legacy of unresolved issues and problems. The level of support for higher education, except in the most recent biennium, has lagged seriously behind most other states. This is a paradox: Florida is rapidly becoming one of the wealthiest states in the nation, but its support of higher education barely matches national averages.

The extent to which political pressures shape the higher education system also presents serious problems. Developing an effective balance between educational considerations and the special interests of politicians and their constituencies should be an issue of top priority. A related issue is the continuous struggle over fiscal control. Although detailed surveillance and control by state officials over higher education budgets have been significantly reduced, educators are still disturbed about what they consider to be petty budget reviewing by representatives of state offices.

Florida has yet to mount a program of continuous and comprehensive statewide planning in higher education. Lack of a statewide agency with primary responsibility for planning and coordination presents a major obstacle. The state has a three-part, loosely integrated network of higher education--community junior colleges, state universities, and private institutions--but not a statewide system. No formal mechanism effectively links the two public segments, and only superficial attention has been given to private institutions in the long-range planning and expansion of public higher education.

Although a few programs specifically designed for minority groups do exist, only limited attention has been given to the educational needs of poor people in the state of Florida, and no major planning or widespread activities have been initiated to serve the particular needs of different ethnic groups or the urban poor.

Finally, the growing momentum for regionalism in the state creates several fundamental problems for the long-range character of higher education. Population growth and concentration in selected geographic areas, coupled with the strong political constituencies that developed as a result of state and national reapportionment, have fostered the creation of separate geopolitical regions. The need for leaders who can foresee the problems and advantages in this development is critical. There are opportunities for planned educational differentiation between the regions, and for cooperative academic programs between colleges and universities within regions.

Regionalism also presents opportunities for groups with special interests, however, and in the case of higher education this could mean a massive duplication of programs and intensive competition for scarce state financial resources. Such an outcome could spell disaster at the expense of the taxpayer and also be a major blow against the educational effectiveness of Florida's colleges and universities.

If Florida is to achieve its announced goal of being "first in higher education by 1975," then four critical issues will have to be resolved: The developing struggles over regionalism; implementation of a new system of resource allocation; definition of the distinctive contribution of each type of institution within the state university system; and serious assessment of the educational quality of the total educational enterprise.

V

Higher Education in Illinois

The first state-supported institution of higher education in Illinois was established by the legislature in 1857 as Illinois State Normal University (now Illinois State University). Ten years later the only land-grant college in Illinois, the University of Illinois at Urbana, was chartered as the "Illinois Industrial" University. By the turn of the century five additional teacher training institutions were established: Southern Illinois Normal College (1869), now known as Southern Illinois University; Cook County Normal School (1869),[*] formerly the Chicago Teachers Colleges and now evolved into two institutions—Chicago State College and Northeastern Illinois State College; Eastern Illinois State Normal School (1895), now Eastern Illinois University; Northern Illinois State Normal School (1895), now Northern Illinois University, and Western Illinois State Normal School (1899), now Western Illinois University.

These seven institutions of public higher education comprised the basic structure for educating Illinois students for the next 50 years, and were governed by their own boards until 1915. In that year a general report on Illinois state government was commissioned by the legislature at the request of the governor. Part of this study, the *Fairlie Report of the Committee on Efficiency and Economy* (1915), focused its attention on the problems of higher education, especially the difficulties of administration and control, and constituted the first major discussion of an appropriate governance structure for Illinois higher education. The Fairlie Committee seriously questioned the policy of having separate boards of trustees for each of the five state teachers colleges:

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[*] Not established by the state and received no state support until 1951. In 1965 the two Chicago teachers' colleges were placed under full state responsibility and support.

> Other things being equal, a single board of control charged with the responsibility of governing all these schools would do so in an abler manner, and more economically and efficiently than separate boards. A single board of control would not destroy the individuality of the schools, nor extinguish any healthy rivalry which now exists among them, for the presidents and faculties of the different schools would still, for the most part at least, remain separate. A single board would, indeed, be able to develop more effectively some specialization in the work of the different schools, and it would tend to unify and systematize those parts of the management and administration of the schools, such as the purchase of supplies, where uniform methods or single control are effective. A single board could also make possible the adoption of standard credit units, which would facilitate transfers of students from one school to another [p. 430].

In the 1917 session, the legislature adopted the Fairlie Committee recommendations by enacting into law the placement of the five normal schools under a Normal School Board responsible to the Department of Registration and Education. The sixth normal college was under the control of the Chicago Board of Education, and the

Univeristy of Illinois had its own governing board. This governing structure remained the pattern for Illinois for 32 years.

Competition and Cooperation in the 1940s

During the early 1940s disagreements arose between some of the state teachers' colleges and the University of Illinois over the teachers' colleges' duplication of programs in vocational agriculture, competition for the preparation of junior college teachers, expansion of programs, and initiation of graduate work (Works, 1945). This was clearly evident in the long struggle waged by Southern Illinois Normal to achieve university status and its own governing board (see Plochman, 1959, and Lentz, 1955).

Because of the educational consequences of such institutional competition, two informational planning reports were prepared for the state government so that it could take action to better coordinate the system. The first of these, the 1943 Leland Report, recommended establishment of a state board of higher education, to consist of the Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois, and to have control over all state institutions of higher education (Brumbaugh, 1956). The report was presented to the State Director of Finance, who took no action.

Although institutional competition frequently occurred during this period, there is evidence of cooperation among the state institutions. In 1940 the presidents of the public institutions established the Illinois Joint Council on Higher Education. Initially a voluntary and informal means for facilitating coordination and cooperation, the council nevertheless played a highly effective role in obtaining legislative approval in 1941 for the University Retirement System and in 1951 for the University Civil Service System. In response to growing pressures for some form of coordination and regulation of higher education, the council organized itself on a more formal basis in 1952 and adopted a "plan of operation" to improve coordination. For a fuller discussion of the activities of the council, see Marsh (1967).

The Works Commission (1943-1955). In 1943 the legislature authorized the second of these reports, a two year study of Illinois higher education. The fifteen member Commission appointed Dr. George Works of the University of Chicago to conduct the study. Eleven special studies were made on such topics as dental education, junior college policy, medical education, technical education, projected student populations, financial support of higher education and governance of state institutions.

The major recommendations of the Works Commission centered on four topics: the control and administration of higher education, the junior college, state supported teacher education, and state scholarships. With respect to the governance question, the commission (1945) recommended that the General Assembly establish a State Board of Higher Education which would replace the Teachers College Board and the Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois. For junior colleges, the report advocated that the state "should encourage, not merely permit, the establishment and maintenance of a system of local public junior colleges." After surveying the need for junior colleges throughout the state, the commission found that over 100 additional public junior colleges should be established so that access to education beyond the high school would be widespread.

None of the recommendations of the commission was enacted into law. Interviewees explained that the state was not ready or willing to make a substantial commitment to higher education, that many people were frightened by the proposal to create 100 new junior colleges, that the rivalry between the teachers colleges and the powerful University of Illinois served to block substantial public development, and that private institutions, less than eager to see the public sector expand rapidly, exerted their political influence in the legislature.

Campaign for Independence by Southern Illinois Normal. In 1941 Southern Illinois Normal launched a campaign to achieve university status and its own board of trustees. This effort merits special consideration because its *modus operandi* became a model for other institutions during the 1960s. Furthermore, Southern Illinois Normal's success in this endeavor both changed the complexion of governance of higher education and further delayed the implementation of the Works Commission recommendation for a state coordinating board for higher education (Plochman, 1959, and Lentz, 1955).

Southern Illinois Normal felt it was severely hampered by the controls exercised by the Teachers College Board and the State Department of Registration and Education, and that it never had been solely a teacher training institution, but rather the "great liberal arts college for southern Illinois." A statewide campaign was mounted by numerous voluntary associations, news media, and other groups in support of Southern's cause. This campaign was opposed by the University of Illinois and the Illinois Educational Association, primarily on the ground that there was no educational need for a second major state university (Plochman 1959; Lentz, 1955). In the political compromise worked out in the legislative session of 1943, Southern Illinois Normal achieved its goal of university status, but not a change of name or its own governing board. It was permitted to offer programs in liberal arts and vocational areas, as well as in teacher training, but it was not until 1947 that the word "normal" was dropped from its name, and not until 1949 that it obtained its own governing board.

The independence Southern Illinois University achieved during the 1940s was highly significant to the character of governance in Illinois and to the efforts to coordinate the state's system of higher education. The university itself developed rapidly into the second major university in the state, with educational influence in Springfield second only to the University of Illinois. The competition generated between Southern Illinois University and the University of Illinois served to dramatize the need for statewide coordination, yet their combined veto power in the legislature was enough to insure that no superboard would be created for several years. And the monolithic and rigid control of the Teachers College Board was curtailed.

University of Illinois Branch at Navy Pier. The next significant addition to the structure of higher education was the creation of a two-year branch in 1946 by the University of Illinois at

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Navy Pier (Chicago) to accommodate returning veterans. Designed to serve as a temporary site, the Navy Pier campus nevertheless operated for the next 20 years. It was replaced by the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, an entirely new commuter campus, in February 1965, a development which periodically gave rise to speculation that the university would endeavor to establish other branch campuses throughout the state.

The Russell Report (1950)

After five years of legislative inaction since the Works Commission report during which there had been growing institutional competitiveness, a change in governors brought a new study of the organization of Illinois higher education. Turned down by the legislature, the governor asked the Office of Education of the Federal Security Agency (now known as the United States Office of Education) to undertake the study. The resulting report (Russell, 1950) strongly emphasized the need for some systems of statewide coordination. Five alternative ways for achieving a statewide system for higher education were suggested. These alternatives ranged from continuing the present three board governance arrangement to creating a single monolithic board of education to control public education at all levels.

The University of Illinois reacted strongly to the Russell Report by rejecting the five alternatives and presenting four proposals of its own. These proposals all had the effect of preserving the predominant position of the university and curbing the efforts of rising Southern Illinois University. In President Stoddard's (1951) famous memorandum to the University Trustees, he expressed concern about creating a "central agency in Springfield to control all state-supported institutions" and stated that the Russell Report placed too much reliance upon uniformity of state institutions. So the University of Illinois made its opposition to the Russell proposals clear and moved to exercise its influence in the legislature to prevent implementation of a statewide board. However, seven of the eight recommendations contained in Alternative II--"continue the present three boards with modifications of their authority"--were enacted into law by the legislature.

Higher Education Commission (1954-1957)

In 1954 another new governor created the Higher Education Commission to "make a thorough investigation, study and survey" of the problems facing Illinois higher education. In part, this commission was created to provide the state with data about the coming college enrollment expansion, which was expected to double in the next 20 years, and its two-year labors resulted in the 1957 report, Illinois Looks to the Future in Higher Education, which laid plans for the ensuing decade.

The commission recommended that the state extend public junior colleges to cover the state and that the legislature increase state aid to $200 per full-time student. The latter recommendation was passed by the General Assembly, and on the basis of the criteria of adequate enrollment potential and financial resources of junior college districts, the commission found that at least 23 cities qualified as candidates for new junior colleges (Illinois Higher Education Commission, 1957). Although the Russell Report's recommendations were far weaker than those made by the Works Commission in terms of the extent to which the state should take responsibility for creating and supporting a statewide system of junior colleges, even its modest proposals were only partially implemented and the state continued to defer taking significant action until 1965.

The commission also recommended that an Illinois Scholarship Commission be established, with the responsibility for administering a program of state scholarships, the main rationale being that such a program would save the state from having to build new facilities by utilizing the unused capacities of private institutions in the state. The State Scholarship Program was created in 1957, with $600,000 authorized for the biennium to provide scholarships for qualified high school graduates.

Probably the most important work of the commission was to be its recommendations on the governing structure, yet it deliberately avoided specific proposals on this issue and gave it minor treatment in a supplementary section of the report. The subcommittee on governing boards appointed an outside consultant, Brumbaugh (1956), to study the problems of controlling state supported higher education. Brumbaugh's report recommended ten basic functions for a new State Board of Higher Education. In general, the powers to be given to the board were weak; the board was to review, analyze, and recommend rather than make final decisions, and it was not conceived of as affecting the status or responsibilities of the existing board of trustees.

However, despite the consultant hired by the commission to study governance and coordination, and the subsequent recommendations made by a subcommittee, the commission absolved itself from acting by declaring that "it did not have sufficient information to make recommendations at this time (Illinois Higher Education Commission, 1957)."

Given the highly controversial nature of the governance question, it is necessary to examine the forces which delayed the adoption of a statewide perspective of higher education needs. The question of what is meant by "statewide educational needs" is a difficult one to answer since such needs are rarely defined or commonly agreed upon. Yet an effort must be made to distinguish statewide educational needs from institutional interests.

Near the end of its report, the commission confronted the fact that none of the various plans in the past had been adopted, and commented that, "institutions have been wary of any plan that might threaten their autonomy or thwart their ambitions," and that "no strong champion has arisen to promote the adoption of any plan by the legislature." Specifically, the University of Illinois did continue to oppose a strong centralized statewide board, and Southern Illinois University, with its newly won status as a university, and with its own board and expansionist desires, was also reluctant to allow the formation of a strong state board.

Like its predecessor, this second major planning study since World War II made proposals which did not seem to find fertile ground for development either within the legislature or within the higher education community itself. Yet the 1957 report laid important groundwork for a continuing effort to resolve critical problems in higher education. Conditions were not to be ripe for almost another four years for Illinois higher education to respond to the new forces at work and endorse the idea of a state coordinating board.

Southern Illinois University Expands--the Branch at Edwardsville

The Higher Education Commission recognized the need for additional opportunities for higher education in southwestern Illinois and authorized a special study of this area. Although the commission studied the report, *Illinois Looks to the Future in Higher Education* (1957), it could not agree on the dimensions of higher education's needs and deferred making specific recommendations.

In response to the growing demand for educational opportunities in the east St. Louis area, Southern Illinois University took the initiative in 1957 to establish the beginnings of what later was called the Edwardsville campus. Because of the closing of Shurtleff College and the availability of facilities in the area, Southern Illinois University decided to establish an east St. Louis center and an Alton center which eventually were combined into the new Edwardsville campus.

Thus, Southern Illinois University followed the lead set earlier by the University of Illinois and expanded its operations into a populous urban area. Some administrators at the Carbondale campus felt that the campus would soon reach its capacity, and that the new branch campus in east St. Louis would offer Southern Illinois University an opportunity for unlimited growth and a more secure, consolidated political base in the southern part of the state. However, the Carbondale campus has continued to grow. The ability of Southern to achieve this new branch campus without substantial organized resistance led many educators and observers to conclude that Illinois may soon be divided up among the remainder of competing universities for further branch campus operations. Since pressure for a state board of higher education was increasing, the spread of the branch campus idea took on great significance and began to alert some legislators, previously unconcerned about higher education, to the need for some form of control if competition and unnecessary duplication of effort were to be avoided.

Continuing the Studies: the Commission of Higher Education, 1957-1960

One of the last recommendations of the 1957 commission report was to establish a continuing commission to study Illinois higher education. In a sense, this commission approach served as a substitute for statewide coordination, since efforts to obtain a formally created board of higher education had failed. So the 70th General Assembly, in 1957, created the nine-member Illinois Commission of Higher Education to supersede the earlier Higher Education Commission.

The new commission was mandated to study the "present and future aims, needs and requirements of higher education," to study and make recommendations on the budget requests of the state-supported institutions, and to study the means and methods of financing the operational and capital requirements of higher education (Illinois Commission of Higher Education, 1958, 1959, 1960). In performing its duties as required by law, the commission submitted annual reports to the legislature and governor during 1958, 1959, and 1960. These reports and their major recommendations are summarized below.

Of the eleven major recommendations made by the commission in its 1958 Annual Report, only four were related to planning. Concerning the governance questions, the commission recommended that the "present structure and number of governing boards remain as they are until a complete analysis can be made" (Illinois Commission of Higher Education, 1958). The legislature asked that such an analysis and a plan be submitted to it by April 1, 1961 for "the unified administration of all of the state-controlled institutions of higher education." In the 1960 Annual Report, the commission recommended that a unified government of the state institutions in Illinois be established, with the formation of a State Board of Higher Education (Illinois Commission of Higher Education, 1960). This board would be responsible for coordinating the plans of all state-controlled institutions of higher education and for formulating a continuing statewide plan of development. Eventually, this proposal (discussed later) was drafted into a law submitted to the legislature for the creation of a new board.

The second important recommendation of the commission was for the "development of a plan leading to coordinated fiscal, curricular, and research planning by public institutions and a unified method of requesting appropriations from the state legislature (Illinois Commission of Higher Education, 1958)." The commission requested the six presidents of the state universities, the executive officer of the Teachers College Board, the Chicago superintendent of schools, and members of the public junior colleges to form a Committee to Recommend a State Plan for Public Higher Education in Illinois. The commission asked the committee to prepare, by May 1, 1960, "a plan of the scope and function of public higher education in Illinois between now and 1975." A study director, Gilbert Steiner, was appointed and a report prepared, *Public Higher Education in Illinois, its Scope and Function to 1975*, and submitted to the commission. Known as the Steiner Report (1961), this document set forth principles and guidelines for a state plan, thirteen of which were developed to "aid public officials in translating aims for public higher education into action." This report was of help to those legislators in 1961 confronted with the task of preparing legislation to create a board of higher education and subsequent development of a master plan. It should be noted here that the public universities supported the Steiner Report.

Two recommendations in the 1958 Annual Report revealed the commission's concern about the uncoordinated growth of the state system. In reaction to the recent branch campus developed by Southern Illinois University, the commission wanted no new branches of public institutions established until such time as local communities could study their own needs for community colleges. The legislature took no action on this proposal, but did act to curtail program expansion efforts by Southern Illinois University and Northern Illinois University. The commission recommended no modification of restrictive legislation for these institutions. Southern Illinois University's attempt to establish an engineering school was defeated, as was a bill for Northern Illinois University to grant degrees in agriculture.

Southern Illinois University's request for an engineering school represented one of the most controversial issues in higher education at the time and highlighted again the need for a more rational evaluation of the development of Illinois higher education. It brought into play competition among the state universities, between public and nonpublic institutions, and between political regional groups in the state legislature (see also Conant, 1964, and Chambers' [illegible] etal, 1965). A lengthy addendum to the 1958 report summarizes the arguments made and the data presented on this topic. Although Southern Illinois University was unable to remove these restrictions initially, it did succeed in 1961 in removing the final vestiges of restrictive legislation on its academic programs.

One other recommendation requires mention. In both the 1958 and 1960 reports, the commission recommended that a study be made of the ways that the state can assist nonpublic higher education to meet its financial needs and increase cooperation between public and nonpublic institutions. But the commission's request that $25,000 be granted the Federation of Independent Illinois Colleges and Universities to carry out the study was never authorized by the legislature.

The Development of Nonpublic Higher Education

Until very recently, Illinois, like most states east of the Mississippi, was dominated by nonpublic colleges and universities. In terms of number of institutions, the number of students enrolled, and the quality of education offered at such institutions as the University of Chicago, Northwestern University, Knox and Shimer, nonpublic institutions have added a much needed diversity and strength to higher education in Illinois. In fact, during a large part of its educational history, the state relied heavily upon nonpublic colleges to perform these functions. Today there are 96 nonpublic colleges and universities (about 60 percent are denominational) which enroll over 139,000 students (Froehlich, 1967).

Many of the nonpublic colleges were established earlier than public institutions. Some, such as Illinois College (1829), Knox College (1837), and MacMurray College (1846) date back before the Civil War. Twenty-one denominational colleges were founded before 1868 (Rudolph, 1962). Immediately following World War II, nonpublic colleges and universities absorbed a large part of the avalanche of veterans who returned to Illinois campuses. In the decade that followed, nonpublic institutions with expanded facilities and increased faculties maintained an unusually high percentage of the state's total college enrollment, even though their share dropped from an impressive 67 percent in 1946, to 55 in 1956, to 48 in 1961, and 35 in 1968 (Illinois Board of Higher Education, 1966a and Froehlich, 1968). While the role of nonpublic institutions will be less prominent in the future (in terms of proportion of enrollments), devotion to the liberal arts, freedom to innovate and experiment, and dedication to quality education will continue to make nonpublic institutions a significant part of Illinois higher education. Recognition of the contribution made by nonpublic institutions is fundamental to sound statewide planning.

The Creation of a State Board of Higher Education

As noted earlier, the problems of higher education in Illinois have been the subject of numerous inquiries carried on by official state commissions, institutional study groups, and private organizations. Although these reports varied considerably in purpose, scope and thoroughness, the most recent studies all indicated that higher education would face a crisis by the late 1950s or early 1960s as a result of: doubled enrollments over the next 15 years; a "knowledge explosion" phenomenon that would proliferate curricula, academic specialties, and new research activities; an increasing need for highly trained personnel resulting in unprecedented demands for graduate and professional degrees; and the impact of future federal programs and funds, which would so enlarge the operations of institutions of higher education that the task of coordination would become increasingly complex. It seemed clear that as a consequence of these pressures, old institutions would continue to expand and compete for high cost programs such as engineering, new institutions would have to be established, and some mechanism for coordinating and planning the statewide enterprise would have to be developed.

By the time the General Assembly met for its legislative session in 1961, the question of statewide coordination had become a central issue. Some interviewees indicated that the various institutions were indeed increasingly competitive and antagonistic, and others stated that legislative leaders of both political parties and officials of the executive branch were becoming more convinced of the need for some form of statewide coordination and planning. Some of these political leaders desired to end the existing stalemate over a new statewide board because the University of Illinois and Southern Illinois University were continuing to build up sizeable campus operations in the less populated areas of the state and were making initial attempts to develop branch campuses.

Respondents also felt that higher education in the state had reached a point in its development when some form of coordination was necessary. By the late 1950s, the formerly weak teachers' colleges had developed into much stronger institutions under the Teachers College Board and thus had become a third set of institutions which needed to be coordinated along with the University of Illinois and Southern Illinois University. Also, the state's reliance upon non-public institutions to educate the majority of Illinois youth was diminishing.

Three distinct and competing proposals for creating a new statewide coordinating board of higher education were presented to the legislature during the 1961 biennial session:

The Commission Proposal. The 1960 Report of the Commission of Higher Education, which contained a proposed bill for the establishment of a State Board of Higher Education, was released to the state university presidents and the public after the November election of 1960. The university presidents met and decided not to respond at that time, but to advise their own boards to react to the bill at a later date. What followed was extensive maneuvering and the development of alternative bills to the commission's proposal. It should be noted that this was the first time that a state commission itself had formulated a bill and decided to introduce it as a way of avoiding the delaying tactics that occurred in the past when the legislature was given no plan to act upon.

The commission proposed a strong bill which would give the board of Higher Education the power to formulate a statewide plan, to have final authority over the establishment of new schools and programs, and to construct the budget for higher education. The bill also contained a provision forbidding official contact by the universities with the legislature except as exercised through the new board.

The commission's bill met strong opposition in the legislature, many legislators believing that the proposed Board of Higher Education would sharply curb the powers of the University of Illinois and curtail traditional legislative functions. Other governing boards and state university presidents also were opposed to the bill, and several technical points were raised about the board's membership and relations with the General Assembly.

The Universities' Proposal. Shortly after the commission's bill was introduced, the university presidents formulated a bill of their own, largely written by staff at the University of Illinois. It proposed a weak coordinating board, the majority to be composed of members of the existing governing boards, and so small an appropriation for hiring a staff ($15,000), that the board's coordinative efforts would be significantly limited. This board would have had little real power and would have been heavily influenced by the universities, which pledged themselves to do the research and staff work.

The Governor's Proposal. During this period, the state's governor became interested in a state board of higher education, and decided that the commission bill was too strong and the university presidents' bill too weak. He therefore requested a compromise bill from the Democratic leader of the Senate.

The compromise bill proposed a board of 15 members, seven of them representing the governing boards. The governor insisted, however, that governing board members should not have a majority on the new board, which should be given real power over programs but limited to an advisory role in budgeting.

Although supported by the universities, the new bill never received the full support of the Commission of Higher Education.

Compromise Proposal: The Creation of a Board of Higher Education

The bill that compromised between the university and administrative proposals created a 15-member Board of Higher Education composed of eight appointees of the governor, the chairman and one board member from each of three existing governing boards, and the

State Superintendent of Public Instruction. The new board was to draw up a master plan for state higher education which would include consideration of private colleges and the junior colleges. It would have the power to analyze budget requests and issue recommendations to the governor, the legislature, and the Budgetary Commission. It also would have the power to approve, disapprove, or recommend change in proposed program revisions and expansions at the universities, such as establishment of new schools, branches, or divisions. A $150,000 appropriation would provide funds for an adequate staff to conduct meaningful studies of the system.

The major difficulty between the universities'and the governor's proposals focused on the composition of the board and represented the problem of which group would ultimately have control over policy. The universities finally yielded to the threat of the governor's veto by allowing him to appoint eight lay members to the 15-member board.

This bill obtained the support of the state universities, was passed by the General Assembly, and signed into law by the governor on August 22, 1961. (For summaries of the different proposals discussed, see Illinois State Chamber of Commerce, 1961). Thus concluded the 19-year fight to establish a state board of higher education in Illinois.

THE CONTEMPORARY EFFORT

Although the planning process developed for Illinois higher education is only briefly characterized, special note should be taken of the extensive formal participation of numerous groups through their representation in public hearings and on study and advisory committees.

The Planning Process

One of the major responsibilities of the new Board of Higher Education, set forth in the statute, was to prepare a master plan for Illinois higher education. The law clearly specified that all segments of higher education—including nonpublic colleges and universities, junior colleges, and other educational enterprises--should be considered in the development of master plans.

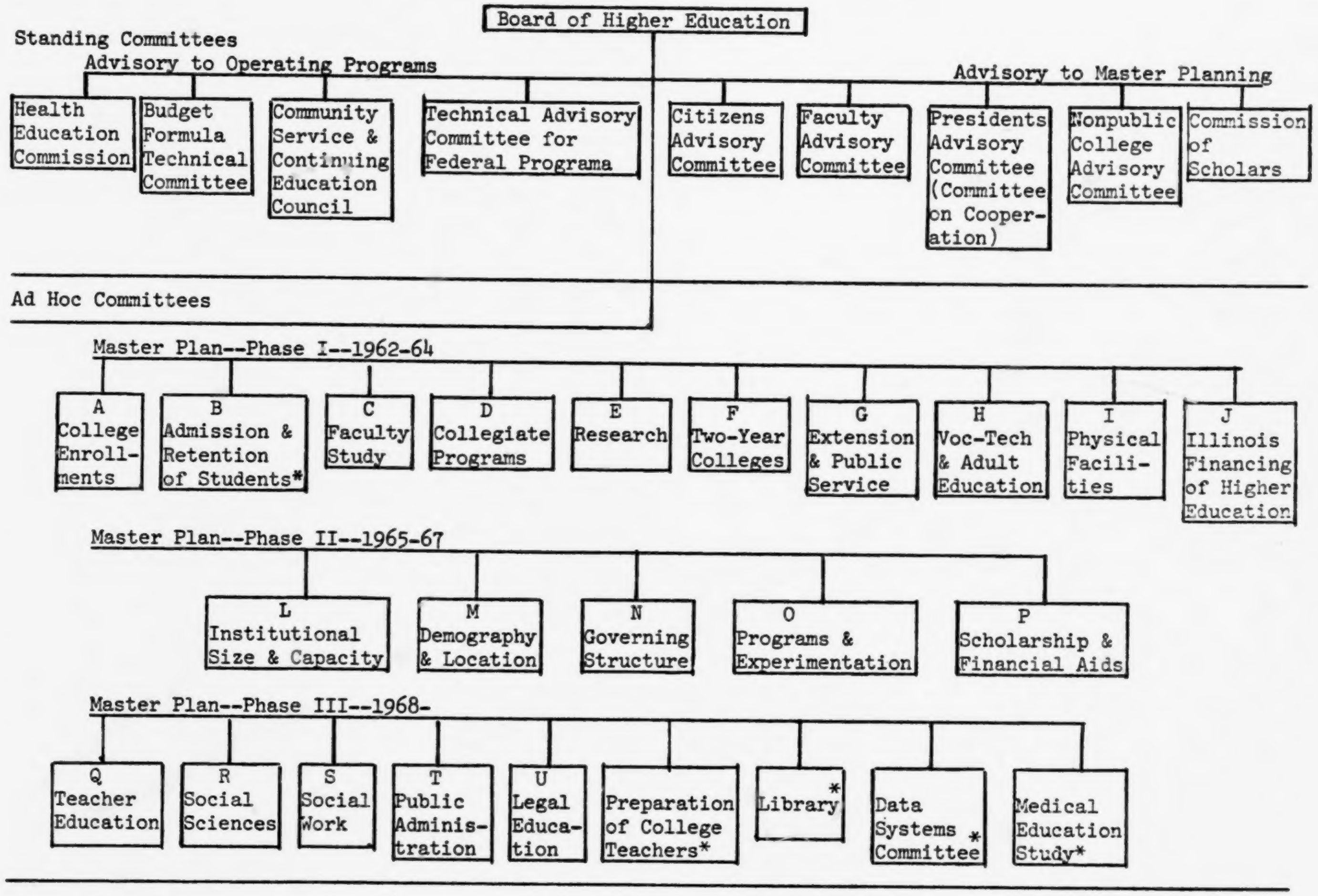
The three phases of Illinois Master Planning conducted during the 1960s, their advisory and study committees, and the area studied during each phase, are shown in Chart 2 .

Master Plan study committees were created by the Board of Higher Education for each of the three phases. Each of the committees was composed of faculty from one or more of the state universities, one or more of the nonpublic institutions, members of various interest groups with a special concern in higher education, and citizens representing the general public. Technical experts in particular areas of concern were appointed to each committee. The board defined. the general committee task and provided a series of questions to be answered.

The study committees gathered extensive data about the current practices of Illinois colleges and universities, then made projections of future needs. Each study committee prepared a preliminary report for the board, copies of which were sent to all the

Chart 2

Committees of the Board of Higher Education


Board of Higher Education
Standing Committees
Advisory to Operating Programs
Health Education Commission
Budget Formula Technical Committee
Community Service & Continuing Education Council
Technical Advisory Committee for Federal Programa
Advisory to Master Planning
Citizens Advisory Committee
Faculty Advisory Committee
Presidents Advisory Committee (Committee on Cooperation)
Nonpublic College Advisory Committee
Commission of Scholars
Ad Hoc Committees
Master Plan--Phase I--1962-64
A College Enrollments
B Admission & Retention of Students*
C Faculty Study
D Collegiate Programs
E Research
F Two-Year Colleges
G Extension & Public Service
H Voc-Tech & Adult Education
I Physical Facilities
J Illinois Financing of Higher Education
Master Plan--Phase II--1965-67
L Institutional Size & Capacity
M Demography & Location
N Governing Structure
O Programs & Experimentation
P Scholarship & Financial Aids
Master Plan--Phase III--1968-
Q Teacher Education
R Social Sciences
S Social Work
T Public Administration
U Legal Education
Preparation of College Teachers*
Library*
Data Systems Committee*
Medical Education Study*

*Currently active

Source: Illinois Board of Higher Education, Progress, planning, challenge: Growth in Illinois higher education 1962-68, December 1968, p. 6.

colleges and universities as well as to members of the other committees. The committees conducted further studies based on reactions to the preliminary reports and prepared final reports.

The Board of Higher Education also created the following advisory committees: the Citizens Advisory Committee, which consisted of distinguished individuals of the state who had a strong interest in higher education but were not directly connected with any of the public institutions; the Faculty Advisory Committee, which consisted of faculty members from both public and nonpublic institutions who were elected by their faculty senates or councils to express the views of the teaching and research staff; and the Presidents Advisory Committee (Committee on Cooperation), which represented all segments of higher education, both public and nonpublic. Recently, the Nonpublic College Advisory Committee was created so that the views of nonpublic institutions could be more directly represented to the board.

The primary task of the advisory committees was to review the reports, findings, and recommendations of the study committees. They also discussed basic policy questions, prepared by the board staff, which related to the master plan. After reviewing the previous work, each advisory committee prepared its own report and gave its own set of recommendations.

One of the great strengths of statewide planning in Illinois was the form of participation which made it possible for the views of many different groups to be heard. After a provisional draft of the master plan was prepared by the board staff, the board conducted public hearings across the state to obtain citizen response. So that the board could weigh public reaction before preparing the final plan, committee reports and Master Plan drafts were circulated to the press and presented and discussed at numerous public and organizational meetings and most of the colleges and universities in the state. This extensive planning process, involving more than 300 people, gives evidence of the advantage of this type of participation; the 27 laws introduced in the legislature to implement the 1964 Master Plan were passed by both houses without a dissenting vote.

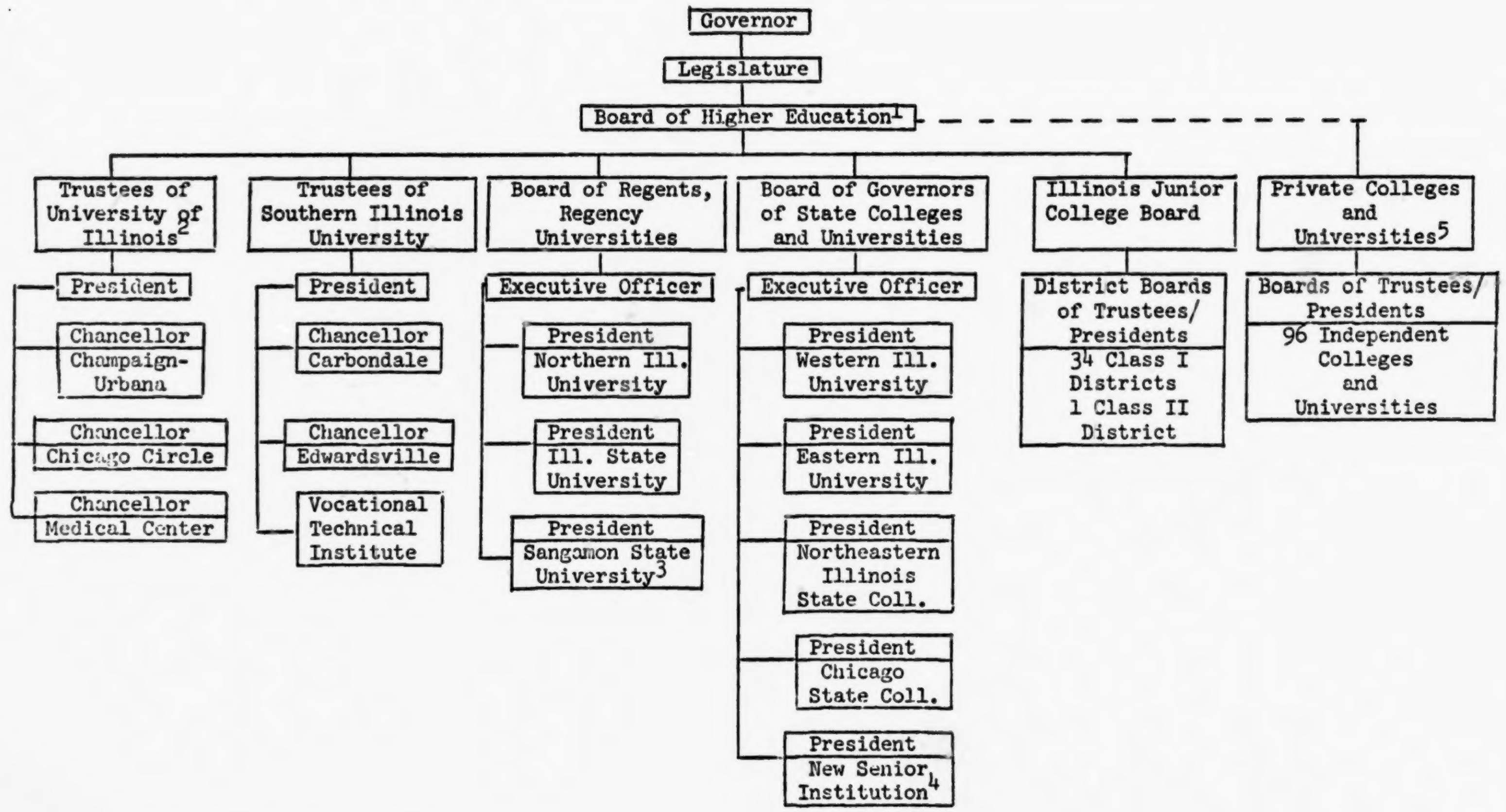
The master planning conducted during the 1960s in Illinois represents a significant development in higher education. In 1964, as a result of the most thorough and extensive series of studies ever undertaken, the state launched a drive to improve its higher education. Public support was marshalled, legislative action was manifested in a heavy commitment of state resources, and the higher education network expanded--first, through a system of state-supported junior colleges, next with the development of new senior institutions, and presently through the expansion of graduate and professional programs.

Contemporary Structure (Chart 3)

State Government Offices. At the statewide level, in addition to the governor and legislature, three agencies are directly involved in higher education matters--the Department of Finance, the Budgetary Commission, and the Illinois Building Authority. The Department of

Chart 3

Contemporary Structure of Illinois Higher Education Network


Governor
Legislature
Board of Higher Education[1]
Trustees of University of Illinois[2]
President
Chancellor Champaign-Urbana
Chancellor Chicago Circle
Chancellor Medical Center
Trustees of Southern Illinois University
President
Chancellor Carbondale
Chancellor Edwardsville
Vocational Technical Institute
Board of Regents, Regency Universities
Executive Officer
President Northern Ill. University
President Ill. State University
President Sangamon State University[3]
Board of Governors of State Colleges and Universities
Executive Officer
President Western Ill. University
President Eastern Ill. University
President Northeastern Illinois State Coll.
President Chicago State Coll.
President New Senior Institution[4]
Illinois Junior College Board
District Boards of Trustees/ Presidents
34 Class I Districts
1 Class II District
Private Colleges and Universities[5]
Boards of Trustees/ Presidents
96 Independent Colleges and Universities

1. Direct authority over programs, admissions, and nonacademic construction; advisory on budgets.
2. The five public boards are responsible for the governance of the institutions under their jurisdictions.
3. Scheduled to open in 1970 or 1971.
4. Scheduled to open in 1971-73.
5. No direct relationship to the Board of Higher Education but cooperate with the board on master planning efforts.

Source: Adapted from chart in report of Illinois Board of Higher Education (December 1968).

discussed earlier, and played an active role in the $195 million state university bond referendum for capital improvements which was passed in 1960.

One other important group under the board is the Budget Formula Committee. Since 1963, a 20-member interinstitutional committee has been working to formulate and refine a commonly agreed upon set of definitions, standards, and procedures for developing the budget requests of state institutions. Each year a statistical cost study is conducted in accordance with the standards set in a Cost Study Manual prepared by the Budget Formula Committee. By providing a more coherent and rational justification for budget requests, this budget committee has helped the Board of Higher Education to acquire higher levels of financial support than ever before.

The System of Systems Structure. Public colleges and universities are now organized into five segments under the Board of Higher Education (Chart 3). These segmental governing boards have the legal powers and functions commonly assigned, such as selection of institutional presidents, formulation of operating and capital budget requests, control over all funds and appropriations made to the institutions, and general supervision over the government and management of the institutions under their jurisdiction. Since these boards encompass complex and multiple functions which often overlap with those of the Board of Higher Education, Committee N on Governing Structure attempted to

Finance is responsible for organizing, classifying, and summarizing the mass of data into a final budget which then becomes the state's financial plan. Early in the budget process, the Budget Division of the Department of Finance examines agencies' requests for appropriations and then prepares comparative statements for review by the Budgetary Commission. The Department of Finance has played a minimal role in the preparation and examination of higher education budgets.

Board of Higher Education and Related Structures. In 1968 the board was composed of 16 members--five institutional representatives, ten lay citizens, and the Superintendent of Public Instruction. The powers and duties of the Board of Higher Education are discussed in the educational effectiveness section of the chapter. Chart 2 shows the myriad of master plan study committees, advisory committees, and other councils which from time to time have played important roles in providing administrative integration for the network. The Illinois Joint Council of Higher Education, begun in the 1940s to foster coordination and cooperation among the six state institutions, is still in existence today, although most of its functions have been assumed by the Board of Higher Education. A major activity of the council is to sponsor, in conjunction with the Federation of Independent Colleges and Universities and the Illinois Association of Community and Junior Colleges, the annual Conference on Higher Education. It acts as the Presidents' Advisory Committee to the Board of Higher Education. The Joint Council sponsored the Steiner report, simplify this web of relationships by declaring that "the primary function of the Board of Higher Education and the Junior College Board is coordination; the primary function of the other state boards is governance; the primary function of institutional presidents is administration; and the primary function of faculty is teaching and research (Illinois Board of Higher Education, 1966a). Recognizing that these concepts are rather vague when it comes to specific issues and questions of appropriate jurisdiction, it was generally found that disputes did not center on the legal powers established for the various boards. Those issues discussed later in the chapter involve the grey areas where clear-cut jurisdictions either have not or could not be legally mandated.

Nonpublic Colleges and Universities

The nonpublic colleges and universities are linked to the Board of Higher Education through their membership on various study and advisory committees, through their participation in the Illinois Conference on Higher Education, and through the activities of the Federation of Independent Colleges and Universities, a statewide association of 43 private colleges and universities in Illinois. It acts as a source of information to the public, the legislature, and the board, and in recent years it has become very active in promoting the state scholarship program and resisting the development of new public institutions—matters fully discussed later. The federation is expected to advocate more vigorously the interests of the nonpublic sector in the years ahead.

CRITICAL DECISIONS IN ILLINOIS HIGHER EDUCATION

The dual concern is to answer two questions: What major decisions have been made and who has made them? To answer the second question fully, it is necessary to assess the relative importance of statewide and segmental planning groups vis-à-vis other parties, such as the governor, legislature, State Chamber of Commerce, or special interest groups, in making these critical decisions. Decisions made at the segmental level are considered with reference to six groups of institutions--the University of Illinois segment, the Southern Illinois University segment, the state college and university segment, the Regency segment, the junior college segment, and the private institution segment.

Educational Goals

An analysis of Illinois master planning identified five major commitments to statewide goals: to extend educational opportunity, to effect increased efficiency and economy, to meet the manpower needs of the state, to maintain quality higher education, and to achieve these goals by dividing the educational tasks among the various segments. This last goal continues to be an unresolved issue among the public segments where there is disagreement over how to differentiate educational functions.

Extending Educational Opportunity. The idea of extending educational opportunity permeates all three phases of Illinois statewide planning.

At least seven of the ten assumptions underlying the development of the 1964 Master Plan expressed some facet of this abstract goal. The state extended educational opportunities in two distinct ways: by supporting a massive quantitative expansion of the netowrk and by seeking to extend higher education to types of students who previously had little chance to benefit from such experience.

Quantitative expansion of higher education. Because the State of Illinois failed to adopt the recommendations of the various study groups and commissions to expand the network during the 1940s and 1950s, it faced a tremendous enrollment crisis by the late 1950s. To meet this impending crisis, the state responded by creating a Board of Higher Education to provide for the orderly development of public higher education. In addition, the state expanded existing institutions, created new types of institutions (junior colleges and senior institutions), and increased its scholarship aid to nonpublic colleges and universities.

The magnitude of this expansion can be measured by the facts of growth during the past decade: 35 new Class I junior colleges were established; two new senior institutions were authorized; scholarship funds rose from $600,000 in 1957-59 to $29.8 million in 1967-69; operating budgets increased 233 percent since fiscal 1959-60; and overall enrollments increased from 186,000 in 1959 to 378,000 in 1968 (Chambers, 1968; Froehlich, 1968; IBHE, Exec. Dir. Report #71). Table 7 provides a summary of the enrollment growth

TABLE 7

Past and Projected Student Enrollments in Illinois Higher Education Institutions

YEAR	JUNIOR COLLEGE	U. OF ILLINOIS	SOUTHERN ILL. U.	BOARD OF GOVS.	BD. OF REGENTS	PRIVATE	PUBLIC	TOTAL
1946								147,049
1947								157,376
1948								153,185
1949								147,260
1950								132,851
1951	13,352					81,027	45,550	126,577
1952	13,709					82,229	47,030	129,259
1953	13,529					79,181	48,251	127,432
1954	15,958					83,993	54,775	138,768
1955	18,360					90,052	62,671	152,732
1956	21,067					94,570	68,411	162,981
1957	22,011	24,243	8,311	12,817		97,570	71,149	168,719
1958	25,854	25,325	10,418	14,735		100,314	80,484	180,798
1959	27,856	26,504	11,394	15,431		100,471	85,670	186,141
1960	31,963	28,574	13,332	16,205		103,846	96,246	200,092
1961	38,022	29,821	14,628	21,008		107,885	108,943	216,828
1962	42,698	30,970	16,244	22,384		111,793	119,668	231,461
1963	44,450	33,023	18,210	25,596		114,879	129,096	243,975
1964	52,518	34,634	20,471	29,860		121,199	146,414	267,613
1965	62,253	38,928	24,502	42,235		125,837	168,657	294,494
1966	66,630	42,537	25,751	48,214		131,513	183,132	314,645
1967	81,783	44,806	27,788	25,995	29,129	134,319	209,400	343,719
1968	100,169	48,682	31,913	29,134	33,882	134,384	243,780	378,164
1970	131,000	164,000				177,000	295,000	472,000
1971	147,000	170,000				182,000	317,000	499,000
1972	163,000	174,000				187,000	337,000	524,000
1973	180,000	181,000				193,000	361,000	554,000
1974	194,000	184,000				197,000	378,000	575,000
1975	210,000	187,000				199,000	397,000	596,000

Footnotes to Table 7

Private, Public and State Totals--*Enrollment in Institutions of Higher Learning in Illinois: 1968*. A summarization of data from the Annual Enrollment Survey Conducted by the University Bureau of Institutional Research of the University of Illinois (1968), pp. 20-21 (figures by head count).

Segments

Public Junior Colleges, 1951-68, *Ibid.*, p. 27.
University of Illinois, 1957-68, *Ibid.*, p. 31.
Southern Illinois University, 1957-68, *Ibid.*, p. 30.
Board of Governors, 1957-68, *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 31, 32 (1957-66 includes combined figures for Eastern Illinois University, Western Illinois University, Chicago Teachers College-North, and Chicago Teachers College-South; 1967-68 includes combined figures for Eastern Illinois University and Western Illinois University only, Chicago Teachers College-North and Chicago Teachers College-South having been transferred to the control of the Board of Regents in 1967 under the new names of Chicago State College and Northeast Illinois State College respectively).

Board of Regents, 1967-68, *Ibid.*, p. 32 (includes combined figures for Chicago State College and Northeast Illinois State College).

Projections (Totals and Segments), 1970-75.

Illinois Board of Higher Education, *Demography and Location* (1966), pp. 12, 21. (All figures by head count; those figures for the segments are by enrollment for public junior colleges, and combined enrollment for the University of Illinois, Southern Illinois University, the Board of Governors, and the Board of Regents.)

patterns in Illinois since 1946, with projections made by the Board of Higher Education through 1980.

TABLE 8

Degree-Credit Enrollments in Public and Private Institutions of Higher Education in Illinois, 1946 to 1980

Year	Public	% of Total	Non-public	% of Total	Total Students
1946					147,079
1951	45,550	36.0	81,027	64.0	126,577
1956	68,411	42.0	94,570	58.0	162,981
1961	108,943	50.2	107,885	49.8	216,828
1966	183,132	58.2	131,454	41.8	314,586
1968	253,338	64.6	138,939	35.4	392,277
1970*	295,000	62.4	177,000	37.6	472,000
1975*	397,000	66.6	199,000	33.4	596,000
1980*	473,000	69.4	208,000	30.6	681,000

*Sources: Actual head count enrollments compiled from tables given in Froehlich, 1968. Projections for the years 1970-80 extracted from Illinois Board of Higher Education, 1966. (a)

Several points are worth noting on the basis of figures in Table 8. The first time public enrollments exceeded those in private institutions was in 1961. This year marked an important turning point in the balance of educational power exercised between these two segments. Since the establishment of the Board in 1961 and the beginnings of serious statewide planning in 1962, the enrollments in public institutions doubled. Thus, in a six-year period the public sector "confronted a challenge to provide resources equal to those accumulated over the 111 years since the state began operating the first public college" (IBHE, Exec. Dir. Report #71). On the basis of projections to 1980, this prodigious task will have to be repeated in the next 12 years. In the past decade, then, quantitative growth was the central imperative that shaped the character of higher education in Illinois.

New types of students in higher education. A number of recommendations in the Illinois plans express the state's concern about extending educational opportunities to young people who never before had the chance to attend college. The state supported a junior college system with a comprehensive mission, emphasized commuter institutions, and created new senior institutions. Further evidence of Illinois progress toward reaching different types of students was the rapid rise in the college enrollment rate from a level of 37 percent in 1962 to 54 percent in 1968 (IBHE, Exec. Dir. Report #71). In addition, the 1966 plan contained a clause whereby the governing boards may admit academically disadvantaged students to experimental and special programs up to ten percent of the previous freshmen enrollment.

Probably the most direct way by which the state can extend educational opportunities is to focus its resources upon that type of student known as the disadvantaged or under-educated. Illinois' master plans set forth three ways in which the state could aid this type of student.

First, the 1960 plan not only enlarged the amount of funds available to the state scholarship program, but also established a grant-in-aid program. Begun in 1957 with $600,000, the state scholarship program grew to $5 million in 1963, $10 million in 1965 and almost $15 million in 1967 (Illinois Board of Higher Education, 1964, 1966). The grant-in-aid program also received state appropriations of $14.9 million for the 1967 biennium.

The second important development, contained in the 1966 Master Plan,was to aid the disadvantaged student through creation of Inter-city Educational Councils for Chicago and East St. Louis. These councils were to have the responsibility for planning and coordinating "guidance and training programs for the disadvantaged youth who may benefit from post high school education..." and to "...assist in the continuing education of high school drop-outs, potential drop-outs, and other prospective students who would ordinarily be inadmissable to college programs." It was expected that such councils would coordinate their efforts with the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Employment Security, and interested business and industrial organizations in the area. The Board of Higher Education's role would be limited to providing the impetus for establishing the councils.

Little action has been taken toward establishing the councils, however. In East St. Louis, the board's staff found that community support and leadership was insufficient to sustain such a program, and while an inter-city governmental group composed of councilmen and city and county managers was formed in Chicago, little followed from the group's meeting.

Some action has been taken by campuses themselves. During the 1966-67 academic year, the Chicago Circle campus of the University of Illinois initiated and subsequently expanded an Educational Assistance Program for 300 youths in Chicago. A similar program, involving 500 students, is underway at the Urbana-Champaign campus (University of Illinois, Faculty Letter, February 3, 1969). In addition, the Chicago Circle campus is developing a "research-oriented, experimental institute for urban education" which will develop programs and projects for educating the disadvantaged (Illinois Board of Higher Education, Report on New Senior Institutions, February 1968).

Although this most recent report on new senior institutions contains a series of recommendations which partly redress the deficiencies in Chicago, most simply continue the efforts of the past. For example, the report recommends increasing the availability of scholarship and grant programs, urging junior colleges to provide remedial programs and work-study curricula, and continuing to have the state colleges prepare teachers for inner-city service. It remains to be seen, however, whether all of these educational resources can be sufficiently marshalled and coordinated to make an impact on the disadvantaged youth of Chicago.

The 1966 plan picked up on a major recommendation of the 1964 Master Plan for aid to the under-educated. This recommendation called for a major innovation in public higher education by establishing a new experimental college with three possible functions:

> To use and determine the effectiveness of modern instructional techniques (e.g., television, team teaching, self-study courses, credit by examination, machine teaching) in expediting the educational process and in making maximum use of outstanding college instructors.
>
> To develop new techniques for effectively instructing large numbers of students of varying ability levels.
>
> To experiment with various courses and programs and with various instructional methods to meet the needs of the under-educated or under-motivated citizens over 17 years of age.

The 1966 plan, however, recommended that an experimental college be established which would focus on students of "superior intellectual ability and potential, among whom are an appreciable number selected because of their disproportionately low level of accomplishment in secondary school or their early failure in college (Illinois Board of Higher Education, 1966).

The Faculty Advisory Committee, in its review of Committee O's proposal on the experimental college, recommended that programs for the "unsuccessful gifted" students be introduced in the existing institutions, which could more feasibly identify them, and furthermore, a majority of the faculty agreed that an experimental college was neither practical nor pertinent in the light of more critical needs. They felt the experimental design had a number of serious problems with respect to the identification of the "inferior" students and the likelihood of assimilating two such highly divergent types of students into the same student body (Illinois Board of Higher Education, Faculty Advisory Committee Report, 1966).

Although the faculty committee along with the President's Advisory Committee essentially curtailed the idea of a separate college to experiment with new techniques of mass education, Illinois has nevertheless made a remarkable effort to expand educational opportunities. From a quantitative standpoint, and to a lesser extent from the standpoint of including different types of students in higher education, Illinois has achieved an enviable record in a very short period of time. Yet the master plans and the state have not fully met the needs of the disadvantaged student, especially in the Chicago area.

Meeting the Manpower Needs of the State

The basic philosophy expressed in the ten assumptions adopted by the Board of Higher Education reflect the strong emphasis on quantitative expansion.

The junior colleges provide one of the most dramatic illustrations of the state's effort to meet manpower needs. As part of their comprehensive mission, junior colleges are responsible for providing vocational-technical education, deficient in the past. In a brief period, the junior colleges expanded this type of curriculum almost 400 percent, providing the skills needed in the industrial and business communities.

Phase III of the master plan focuses attention upon another part of the manpower question—the need for graduate and professional services in the state. The first major study in this area concerned health care education. Studies of teacher education, legal education, engineering, library services, and several other areas were undertaken in 1968-69. For each of these fields, supply and demand studies are being conducted so that the board can assess the manpower needs of the state and the level of educational production required to meet those needs. The distinctive features and significance of those several studies in the graduate and professional areas are illustrated by the health care study.

The Campbell Report (Illinois Board of Higher Education, Education in the Health Fields, 1968), which reported the results of a study recommended in the 1964 Master Plan, documented the acute shortage of personnel in all the health fields and recognized the need for the "development of new kinds of roles for health care personnel and new types of approaches to the health care system." In addition, it recognized the increasing alliance between the public and private sectors of health care and education, both in the location and in the support of these activities.

Among its 66 recommendations, the Campbell Report contained five which gave it a distinctive and innovative character as a document concerned with problems of meeting manpower needs. These five were:

1. That a Health Education Commission be created (advisory to the Board of Higher Education) which would review all health education programs, including those conducted by nonpublic institutions which sought state aid.

2. That the state provide support to nonpublic educational organizations, including hospitals and clinical centers, making a significant contribution to health care training programs.

This step is a breakthrough in the nonpublic institutions' quest for state funds to increase their educational effectiveness. For the 1969-71 biennium, the board requested $13.5 million to aid nonpublic institutions in expanding their training programs (Illinois Board of Higher Education, Exec. Dir. Report #71, December 1968).

3. That innovative curricula in medicine, dentistry, and certain other health professions be developed to shorten the total amount of time required to obtain the degree; that those aspects of the study of human biology which can best be taught in the university be returned to that setting; that a more flexible means of entry into and progress through the medical curricula be provided that would allow for individual skills, interests, and rates of progression; that exposure to clinical experience in multiple clinical settings be privided, and that the internship year be taken within the framework of a more clearly educational environment.

To increase the numbers of health care workers in the 1970s, the Campbell Report recommended not only the expansion of existing programs at the University of Illinois and certain private institutions, but also the creation of innovative medical curricula in existing science departments at Southern Illinois University, a new graduate program in public health at the University of Illinois, a new dental school at the Edwardsville branch of Southern Illinois University, a doctoral program in nursing at the University of Illinois College of Nursing, establishment of regional Health Occupations Education Centers at the University of Illinois, Southern Illinois University, Illinois State University and Northern Illinois University, and a variety of programs in the health-related fields at the Junior colleges.

4. That an Illinois Institute of Health be established at the University of Illinois Medical Center in Chicago.

5. That a health information system (MEDINET) be established which would combine a television-communications-library network to provide the means for widespread use of health care data. (Items 4 and 5 were delayed by the board pending further study.)

To the extent that the Campbell study serves as a model for other manpower studies being conducted by the board, Illinois statewide planning is significantly advanced beyond most other states in making rational and economical decisions regarding manpower needs and efficient use of educational facilities.

Maintaining Quality Higher Education

The striving for excellence in education as an important cultural goal is evidenced directly in only three facets of the master plans--the increasingly selective admissions program for the state universities, the reliance upon some nonpublic institutions to provide high quality education, and the work of the Commission of

Scholars. The Board of Higher Education and its staff gave much attention, however, to such traditional indicators of quality as faculty/student ratios, faculty salaries, library support, etc., and made strong efforts through its budgeting procedures to maintain and improve the quality of institutional programs. A former executive director of the board cited a comparison of AAUP salary gradings for Illinois institutions in 1964-65 and 1967-68 and argued that the marked salary improvements increased the level of quality in public institutions more than the efforts of the Commission of Scholars.

The Board of Higher Education has also set forth a restrictive enrollment policy for the state colleges and universities which may affect the quality of these institutions; in 1969-70 only students ranking in the top half of their graduating class would be admitted. To foster the senior institutions' excellence in upper division and graduate work, the board also recommended that by 1970-71 the lower division enrollments be stabilized in the residential public senior institutions. The entire network stands to benefit qualitatively from the new statewide admissions policies, since not only will the junior college receive a much larger proportion of students, but articulation between junior and senior institutions will inevitably be improved.

Historically, Illinois relied heavily upon nonpublic colleges and universities to educate a majority of its youth and to provide diversity. Since World War II, however, and especially in the past decade, the public universities both improved the quality of education offered and provided for diversity. The University of Illinois' graduate work has long ranked among the top dozen American universities in quality (Hughes, 1925; Keniston, 1957; and Berelson, 1959) and in 1966 Cartter found that it ranked eighth among the best balanced universities in the nation. Although the University of Illinois has long been a quality institution, it was primarily the other state universities that made substantial improvements in the quality of their education programs, instructional staffs, and types of students.

Perhaps the most creative and significant proposal developed by Illinois planners to improve quality has been the establishment of a Commission of Scholars (A Master Plan, 1964). Composed of nine members with national reputations for teaching and research, at least five of whom must come from outside the state, the commission has two principal responsibilities:

> 1. To study areas of critical need for doctoral programs to determine at which institutions they should be offered and how their initiation and sound development may be expedited.
>
> 2. To review applications by any state university to offer a degree program requiring six or more years of education or training. This would involve evaluating the intrinsic merit of the particular proposal, determining the need for each program and investigating the qualifications of the faculty and physical resources of the institution proposing the program [pp. 36-37].

At least six major areas come under close scrutiny by the commission in evaluating program proposals: size of faculty, and its experience and research proclivity; library facilities; other physical facilities such as laboratories; amount of money available to support the proposal; the strength of the master's programs undergirding the proposal; and the number of students available to sustain the program.

In its first three years, the Commission of Scholars reviewed a total of 26 proposals, of which only six were not approved. Twenty-one of these came from the rapidly developing institutions, mainly Northern Illinois University and the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle.

One member of the Commission has assessed its work so far and commented:

> At first I was very skeptical about the function of the commission and whether nine scholars with such diverse backgrounds could adequately assess proposals outside of their fields of technical competence. The performance of the Commission has more than met my doubts. If there were no such reviewing group, Ph.D.s would proliferate and lower the quality of Illinois graduate education.

Reflected in this statement is the necessity for differentiating programs so that the commission can provide an overall appraisal of the development of higher education.

It is this last concern that the Commission of Scholars has been working to improve. The evidence to date indicates that advanced graduate programs are meeting high standards of quality. The commission thus serves as a key mechanism to control the four senior segments of Illinois higher education which have all, in one way or another, been given the green light to develop advanced graduate programs. A major danger in this process is that the commission has been reacting on a proposal-by-proposal basis only to new programs; it has not attempted to fulfill its first major duty of studying areas of critical future need. Phase III of the Master Plan will provide this more systematic review of state needs.

Efficiency and Economy in Higher Education

Numerous statements throughout Illinois master plans have indicated the importance of the goals of efficiency and economy. The state decided that costs could be kept to a minimum by constructing all new institutions to serve commuter students and by expanding both the junior colleges and the senior colleges, the latter being institutions limited to upper division courses and beginning graduate work. The 1966 plan continued to stress the economic efficiency of commuter institutions, especially in the urban areas, and the board put forth a four-point policy for commuter institutions which was largely cast in economic terms and indicated their desirability over residential campuses.

The field work done in Illinois, however, made it clear that little thought had been given to the educational consequences of developing a statewide network of commuter institutions. Although this is a national problem, and not one peculiar to Illinois, apparently no one has attempted to assess the kind of learning experiences being fostered at commuter institutions which serve students who are usually on campus only for their class work. As a consequence, there are few academic traditions and little extracurricular activity to support classroom learning experiences, especially at junior colleges.

Some legislators and many people throughout the state view the development of the state system of junior colleges as a way of providing inexpensive education to vast numbers of students, not recognizing how expensive junior college education can become if a serious commitment to the comprehensive mission is made. To provide adequate vocational and technical programs in a rapidly changing technological society is an expensive undertaking, and to fully implement the ideas behind an open door policy and provide necessary guidance and counseling services involves expenditures far beyond what state planners project. The rhetoric about cost-saving contained in many of the public documents and statements made about the junior colleges is misleading the public supporters of higher education into a false sense of satisfaction and complacency.

Segmentwide Goals: The System of Systems Structure

The current organization of public higher education in Illinois developed from a long evolutionary process marked by repeated changes and modifications to accommodate expansions and political expediencies. In the middle of the 1960s, the Board of Higher Education attempted to consolidate and formalize the various groups of institutions into a schema which would represent a meaningful division of educational labor. The arrangement of public colleges and universities known as the system of systems governance structure involves five major segments of similar institutions, comprised of the following systems: the University of Illinois, Southern

Illinois University, the state colleges and universities, the Regency University, and the junior colleges. Nonpublic institutions will be considered here as a sixth segment, although they are not under the control of the Board of Higher Education.

A "segment of similar institutions" in Illinois has a somewhat special meaning. Unlike California, where a large number of institutions are placed under a single governing board, Illinois has very few institutions in each segment, except for those under the Junior College Board. For example, the University of Illinois segment is composed of the Urbana campus, the Chicago Circle campus, and the Medical Center campus in Chicago. The Southern Illinois University segment is composed of the Carbondale and Edwardsville campuses and the Vocational-Technical Institute. Thus, the distinction usually made between segment goals and institutional goals is less applicable in Illinois because reference to the segment means reference to the major institution within it.

Although dealing primarily with the question of governance, three important documents--Study Committee N on Governing Structure, the Master Plan--Phase II, and the Report of the Special Committee on New Senior Institutions--set forth the major goals of each public segment. Because of the highly controversial nature of formalizing segmental goals, the board has not specifically endorsed the details of the typology provided by Committee N nor the proposed roles and functions differentiating the five segments developed by the Special Committee (see Illinois Board of Higher Education, Master Plan--Phase II 1966). The board's "unofficial" acceptance of these documents, however, means that for the future the goals developed in these documents will apply generally to the segments.

The 1966 plan stated in a general way the meaning of the "system of systems" concept: "The public higher education community [shall] be subdivided into systems which, individually, have a functional unity and cohesion, but at the same time in their totality can comprehend the diverse educational needs of the state for the foreseeable future." Therefore, each governing board should be responsible for a particular type of kind of education.

The typology developed by Committee N was essentially that adopted by the Special Committee. The committee discovered at least three principles which generally have been used in the past to assign individual institutions to governing boards. The role and function of the institution was the primary consideration, and the institution's geographic location a secondary one. In addition, Committee N stressed at the beginning of its report that it accepted the "principle that any reorganization of the governmental structure, or reassignment of existing institutions and/or campuses, be made only when essential to produce greater effectiveness. Dislocations of historical arrangements are to be avoided when possible." Using these three principles as a basis for developing a typology of systems, the committee arrived at the following plan:

1. The University of Illinois segment, to include the University of Illinois at Urbana, the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, and the University of Illinois Medical Center, was to be a "fully developed, complex, multipurpose university,

offering work at both the undergraduate and graduate levels in most of the recognized fields of knowledge, with a diversity of professional schools, and extensive involvement in research and public service.

2. The Southern Illinois University segment, to include the Southern Illinois University at Carbondale and Edwardsville and the Vocational-Technical Institute, was to be a "rapidly developing, complex, multipurpose university," retaining some probative restrictions related to geography, advanced professional programs, and typological priorities.

3. The Regency segment, known as the "liberal arts" university, to include Northern Illinois University and Illinois State University, was to have a "program of graduate education leading to the doctorate in a significant number of fields," with offerings restricted to the liberal arts and sciences and other related undergraduate programs with only a limited number of associated graduate professional schools, usually education and business administration.

4. The state universities and colleges, to include Western Illinois University, Eastern Illinois University, Chicago State College, and Northeastern Illinois State College, institutions with a more limited scope of offerings, usually without professional schools except in the field of teacher education, and offering the doctorate in a very limited number of fields or not at all.

5. The junior and community college segment was to offer college transfer programs, adult education, and occupational curriculums of up to two years for all students capable of profiting

from such programs. At the present time there are some 34 junior colleges planning to provide this comprehensive program.

Committee N then justified the above typology in the following way:

> This classification of types realistically reflects the current situation in public higher education in Illinois today. More significantly, it provides a realistic framework for future development of higher education in Illinois both functionally and organizationally. Being essentially typological, this classification implies both horizontal and vertical limitations but only within the framework of the existing authority of the Board of Higher Education to approve, or disapprove, 'new units of instruction, research and public service.' It reflects an almost equal distribution of the current higher education enrollment of students and can continue to do so. It provides a rationale for assignment of proposed new institutions. It emphasizes systems rather than institutions and clarifies what is coordinated and what is governed. If implemented, it would provide a balance of dissimilar systems for coordination and at the same time a balance of similar institutions for governance /pp. 12-13/.

The 1966 plan expressed the board's concern for flexibility in the system of systems concept, specifically avoiding the more rigid typology developed in the California Master Plan of 1960. In the commentary to the recommendations on the systems plan, the board stated:

> This plan is not intended to type institutions indelibly or to predetermine their ultimate destiny. They can be expected to respond to social, economic, and demographic conditions in order to render maximum service to their respective clientele. If through such accommodations the functions of an institution change radically, it may then become necessary to transfer that institution to another more appropriate governing system. It is anticipated, however, that such transfers will not be frequent [p. 57].

A number of comments, criticisms, and questions have been and will continue to be raised about the system of systems concept.

Committee N itself realized that the typology was not precise, but that a more detailed classification of purpose for the institutions conflicted with the principle of minimum dislocation of existing arrangements. Vagueness in the typology places a special burden on the Board of Higher Education to make rational and justifiable decisions regarding future programs for what are uniquely classified in Illinois as multipurpose universities, liberal arts universities, state universities, and colleges. The similarity of goals of the public segments and private institutions has already produced serious difficulties in the latter's planning efforts. A case in point has been the continuously changing role and function of the University of Illinois Chicago Circle campus. Each succeeding change by Chicago Circle has caused serious revisions and reactions in several of Chicago's nonpublic institutions. This lack of clear goal definition by public institutions seems to impair the board's effectiveness in preserving and strengthening the independent status and role of the nonpublic institutions.

One critic of the system of systems idea, taking the statewide perspective, cites evidence to show how the vague distinctions between institutions and segments cause some problems.

> For example, Western Illinois University has about 9,500 students, of which about 4% are graduate students, and they want funds to plan Ph.D. programs. Western now has few masters programs and nearly two-thirds of their work is at the lower division level. Of course, a Ph.D. program would be a high prestige item, but they don't have the necessary cognate programs to support it. To the Board of Higher Education, this proposal was absurd. The board advised Western to send its Ph.D. students to other institutions and did not provide them planning funds. Nevertheless, Western is going ahead with plans for a Ph.D. in English. It is almost positive that the Board of Higher Education will turn down their proposal.

The view was expressed that, from the statewide perspective, the "clearer you make differentiation of function, the better off you are just as long as the scheme is susceptible to change and not put into law and cemented."

Although the board has indicated that five segments and no more will be created, it is an open question as to whether a precedent has been established by Northern Illinois University's successful push for a Regency board. It is apparent that dissatisfaction exists among the institutions under the Board of Governors and there is discussion of a realignment or a new board to encompass the different functions performed by those institutions. Under discussion by Committee N was a plan to place all the Chicago institutions under a single board. What happened as new institutions were created is the subject of a special discussion later.

Committee N's typology implies a sense of equity in quality among the segments, but nowhere in the published materials about the typology is there evidenced a concern for excellence in Illinois higher education or for how the various segments can be improved to achieve higher academic standards. When diversity is discussed, it is couched in terms of "balancing dissimilar systems or balancing similar institutions." There is indeed a certain degree of attention given to diversity of institutional types, achieved largely through program restrictions, but there is little concern for real distinctiveness either within the system or between institutions.

There is a fear expressed, particularly by the University of Illinois, that the Board of Higher Education, in its efforts to balance systems politically, will be creating undue conformity and duplication among the segments. They claim that the master plans have not recognized that the University of Illinois is of a qualitatively different order than other institutions, and that since four of the five segments are authorized to develop doctoral programs, the quality of doctoral work may well be jeopardized.

Other comments on the system of systems structure were generally supportive: "Illinois education has not gotten embalmed in statutory laws or constitutional arrangements like some states;" "Ultimately, the test of the system of systems concept will center on a political test of educational forces in the state. There will be a showdown and no amount of planning can prevent ultimate tests of power. For example, it could come on the issue of new institutions or of Southern Illinois University's desires in medicine. The system of systems exhausts possible remedies;" "The ultimate issue is control of the University of Illinois."

Eventually, however, this typology became the focal point of controversy when new public institutions had to be assigned to one of the segments.

Some further explication of the junior colleges will throw light on the problems of segmental goals because these two-year institutions developed very quickly, because their development and operation have long range consequences for the network, and because their comprehensive mission presents special problems. Under the legislation establishing state-supported junior colleges, the comprehensive educational program was specified to include courses in the liberal arts and sciences, general education, adult education, and occupational-technical education leading directly to employment. The law further specified that at least 15 percent of all courses taught should be in occupational-technical areas, but that no more than one-half of such courses could be in business education (The School Code of Illinois, 1967).

Because the program emphasis of Illinois junior colleges historically was of the academic transfer type, the third part of the comprehensive mission was designed to overcome this difficulty. It became, however, one of the most controversial parts of the law. In its review of the past situation, the board had found that one of the most serious weaknesses of the junior college program was its failure to provide adequate technical programs. Citing a Board of Vocational Education and Rehabilitation report which revealed that "only 11 of 24 Illinois junior colleges operated one approved technical program and none more than three," the Board of Higher Education was anxious to correct this deficiency by specifying minimum standards for vocational-technical education (Illinois Board of Higher Education, _A Master Plan_, 1964). In addition, the board was concerned that a sizeable amount of matching federal funds was available, but that Illinois was not taking advantage of this opportunity. Furthermore, various business and industrial groups in the state were interested in having the junior colleges provide them with trained potential employees.

As evidence of the rapid progress being made in this area, a study conducted by the Board of Vocational Education and Rehabilitation indicated that as of 1969 junior colleges "now offer 101 different programs (contrasted to 28 in 1962) and that 29 colleges offer three or more programs. Twenty colleges offer five or more programs, and seven have ten or more. Over 30 percent of all of the courses offered are in vocational-technical fields and 20 percent of all junior college student credit hours are produced in these courses (Board of Higher Education, Executive Director Reports #63 and #71)."

Illinois junior colleges have achieved a remarkable record of growth and quantitative expansion. Prior to the development of a state-supported system, junior colleges enrolled only 52,500 students in 1964 (Froehlich, 1967). In the three years since the enactment of the landmark junior college legislation in 1965, thirty-five new Class I junior college districts were created, and by the fall of 1968, junior college enrollment in the state reached just over 100,000. Fastest growing of the Illinois higher education segments, the junior colleges' growth rate is expected to continue at this significant rate during the next decade.

Even though the comprehensive mission for the junior colleges was embodied in state law and accepted by top educational policy makers, interview data revealed several difficulties with this concept. One statewide planner commented that implementation of a comprehensive curriculum is difficult because the meaning of an open door admissions policy is unclear and because many of the local board members, faculty, and administrators, being new and/or from outside the state, had not been involved in the development of the master plan. The Junior College Board's greatest task was to sell the comprehensive idea to its own educators and staff members, a formidable challenge, since of the 33 Class I districts established by 1967, only five local boards had been in existence for more than two years, 23 boards had been elected in the past 20 months, and five others had been elected in the fall of 1967. Since 1967, however, district boards and their staffs have assumed considerable educational leadership.

In its first annual statewide conference in December 1966, the Junior College Board debated numerous questions about the criteria and standards by which to judge the colleges. For example, although the law specified that each college must have transfer, adult education, and vocational programs, it did not specify to what extent an institution should be required to promote, develop, and plan adult education courses before it is recognized as having met the minimum requirements of a comprehensive curriculum. More basic even than this question was the confusion over what could be defined as adult education.

Another issue sharply debated concerned the admissions policy. The law specifically stated that the college should admit students "qualified" to complete one of the programs, and that the college was to "distribute" students among programs according to interests and abilities (School Code of Illinois, 1967). The conference sought the answer by positing the kind of counseling and testing procedures a junior college should develop to insure that a student is capable of pursuing a given curriculum. But staff members of the Junior College Board seriously questioned whether counseling and guidance were ultimately effective when no remedial programs were offered to students with academic deficiencies.

With a comprehensive mission and widely diverse student needs, junior colleges call for sophisticated educational planning and assessment of effectiveness. Yet it is precisely in this type of commuter institution that educational planning has been inadequate.

The Nonpublic Segment

The central question about the nonpublic segment is whether it is part of the system of systems structure. The goal of educational pluralism has long been a part of Illinois' educational philosophy, and it has sought, where possible, to strengthen the role of nonpublic institutions in higher education.

These institutions served the state's planning needs primarily through their representatives serving on the master plan study and advisory committees and through the submission of planning data to the board for their statewide studies. The 1964 Master Plan reaffirmed the obligation stated in the enabling legislation to "seek methods by which the independent status and role of nonpublic institutions can be preserved and enhanced." The segment feels this obligation has not been adequately fulfilled and that this failure causes friction with the public segments. Part of the problem centers on the knotty issue of increasing state aid to nonpublic institutions; part on the type of participation the nonpublic institutions had in statewide planning and the difficulties presented by the expansion of the public sector; and part on the extent of control over public institutions by representatives of nonpublic institutions.

Two recent changes should serve to strengthen the role of nonpublic colleges and universities:

1. To help resolve the new institutions issue, a Commission to Study Nonpublic Higher Education was established to determine "how the nonpublic institutions can be appropriately related to the public ones without impairment of their freedom, and constitutional means by which the State can aid the nonpublic institutions in the fulfillment of their task" (Board of Higher Education, Report on New Senior Institutions, 1968). Governor Kerner appointed five out-of-state educators to the commission, which found that while there were small operating surpluses in most private institutions, the signs were that within a few years such debilitating deficits would occur that some institutions would probably not survive. The commission recommended, therefore, that in order to preserve and strengthen the dual system of private and public higher education, the state "make direct grants-in-aid to the private institutions according to a formula based on total undergraduate enrollments." The formula for state aid was so designed as to improve the quality rather than enrollment capacity of private higher education by awarding larger grants to those institutions enrolling state scholarship and grant recipients.

The commission estimated that a total of $14 million of direct grants-in-aid as well as other forms of financial assistance would be needed during the 1969-70 fiscal year for eligible private institutions, and recommended that the Board of Higher Education be designated as the state agency to administer these programs. The proposals in the final report were not found acceptable by the 1969 legislature, which did not support nonpublic higher education during fiscal year 1969-70.

2. A second important change for the nonpublic institutions was the creation of a Nonpublic College Advisory Committee, with three major functions: To provide communication between the committee and the board and its staff; To review master plan proposals, committee reports, and drafts of plans in a manner similar to the Citizens and Faculty Advisory Committees; and To initiate porposals relative to the welfare of higher education, both public and nonpublic (Board of Higher Education, Executive Director's Report #60).

These steps may be helpful in providing the nonpublic sector with a stronger voice with which to communicate its needs and a way by which it can coordinate its programs more closely to developments in the public sector. Further evidence of the Board of Higher Education's support of the nonpublic sector were the master plan recommendations for doubling the State Scholarship Program in 1965 and for tripling it in 1967. Despite these efforts, however, and the recognized contributions made by nonpublic institutions to Illinois higher education in the past, the place occupied by nonpublic institutions within the system of systems framework may have been jeopardized by a number of developments, the most crucial of them being "the new institutions controversy."

The New Institutions Controversy: A Test of the System of Systems

The controversy over proposed new public institutions during a 20-month period put the system of systems concept to its most severe test. The controversy occurred in essentially two phases, and followed along the lines of the major cleavages in higher education. The first involved a dispute between the public and private sectors about the enrollment needs of the state and the number and location of the new institutions needed. The second centered in a dispute among the public segments as to which governing board would obtain authority to plan the development of the new institutions.

The Public-Private Dispute Over Future Educational Needs

Since growth is one of the central imperatives and benchmarks for success of almost all institutions, both public and nonpublic, and enrollments are crucial to the financial viability as well as the power base of educational institutions, competition for enrollments and debates over conflicting enrollment projections are probably inevitable. In Illinois this situation was compounded by the fact that in 1961 the public sector surpassed the nonpublic sector in total enrollments, and that tension was therefore building in the nonpublic institutions.

Two Master Plan Study Committees were appointed to assess the enrollment needs of Illinois higher education: 1) The 1964 Study Committee A on College Enrollments made various projections of the number of students who would be attending higher education institutions. One result of the committee's work was the establishment of the state-supported junior college system, which was designed to meet in a substantial way the tide of projected increased enrollments. 2) The most important report, however, was prepared by Committee M. From their demographic analysis, and a set of enrollment projections partly based on college-going rates unavailable to Committee A, Committee M recommended that new four-year institutions be provided over a period of from five to six years, in two stages of priority. In stage I, four new institutions would be established immediately, two in Chicago and one each in the Rockford and Springfield areas. In stage II, the committee recommended five more new institutions (three more in Chicago and one each in the Rock Island and Peoria areas) to enable the state to meet its enrollment commitments as revised from the more conservative projections made by Committee A (Illinois Board of Higher Education, Master Plan Committee M--Demography and Location, 1966a).

Upon publication of Committee M's recommendations, the Executive Committee of the Federation of Independent Illinois Colleges and Universities, an association representing 43 nonpublic institutions, prepared a document sharply challenging Committee M's recommendation to create a senior college system. The Federation (Federation, 1966) argued that institutional projections of 10-year enrollment capacities for the existing senior public segments as reported by Committee L revealed an excess capacity of some 54,000 students beyond the data projected by Committee M. Thus, the nonpublic institutions argued, no demonstrable need existed for a costly new system of colleges. A close examination of Committee L's report, however, does not reveal any data to support the position that there was an excess of 54,000 students in enrollment projections (Illinois Board of Higher Education, Committee L--Institutional Size and Capacity, 1966a).

The real concern of the Federation becomes manifest in the last three pages of their report. They felt threatened because the proposed new institutions would be located in communities where nonpublic colleges already existed. The Federation argued that existing public and nonpublic institutions could provide for the foreseeable enrollments projected by Committee M, but it did not marshall any data to show how nonpublic institutions could expand to meet future needs. Subsequently, a special study conducted by the Board of Higher Education seriously questioned whether nonpublic institutions could meet the committee's projections.

As a way of partially resolving the enrollment crisis, the Federation argued that maximum use of existing nonpublic institutions be made by extending the present state scholarship program. In a separate statement, the Federation further recommended to the Board of Higher Education that a biennial appropriation of $35 million be authorized to the State Scholarship Program (rather than the $10 million authorized in 1965-67) so that nonpublic institutions could fulfill their role in meeting the enrollment crisis. Clearly wanting no action taken on the proposed new institutions, the Federation declared that further study was required. Since five to six years are needed in lead time alone if new institutions are to be built, and the legislature was not to reconvene for another two years, the effect of adopting the Federation's view would have been to postpone action for another seven to eight years.

In 1965 the board's staff, in conjunction with the Technical Advisory Committee on Physical Facilities, conducted a careful study of the building plans and enrollment capacities of Illinois institutions of higher education (Illinois Board of Higher Education, 1966b). The major finding of this study relevant to the present discussion was that "by 1974 the nonpublic institutions will fail to provide spaces for approximately 25,000 students now projected for them" (Board of Higher Education, A Master Plan--Phase II, 1966b). The board's staff argued, therefore, that the nonpublic institutions had overestimated their ability to provide for additional enrollment and that new public institutions were more than ever required to provide facilities for these students.

In response to this study, some leaders of nonpublic institutions argued that if the state would assure them of substantially greater amounts of state scholarship funds, they would be inclined to build additional facilities. However, the board's staff countered this argument with data on past trends, cited a drop in applications by nonpublic institutions for federal construction funds, and pointed out that this drop in construction occurred during the period when the state scholarship program was doubled and a student guaranteed loan program established. The staff concluded: "If this additional $19 million in financial aid has had no recognizable effect on nonpublic construction plans, it seems highly unlikely that a substantial addition to that amount will do so" (Board of Higher Education, A Master Plan--Phase II, 1966b). The space study further revealed that by 1974 almost one-third of all nonpublic institutions planned to establish enrollment ceilings on their campuses, and that while several new nonpublic institutions had been established, none had been forced to shut down because of public institutional expansion.

As the 1967 legislative session began, the ground for settling the dispute moved from the educational to the political arena. The Board of Higher Education faced a conflicting set of recommendations: Committee M, supported by the Faculty Advisory Committee, had recommended the creation of four new institutions; the Citizens Advisory Committee called for the establishment of three institutions; and the Federation of Independent Colleges and Universities wanted no new institutions authorized but instead desired an increase in state support of scholarships.

The board responded by asking the legislature for three new "senior" institutions, deliberately leaving the language in the 1966 plan vague as to the exact number of institutions ultimately to be proposed (Illinois Board of Higher Education, A Master Plan--Phase II, 1966b). The legislature approved two new institutions and authorized $3 million for the board to study and plan new senior institutions in Chicago and Springfield. The nonpublic interests were able to amend the legislative bill to the effect that $250,000 was allocated by the state to finance a study of the role and future needs of nonpublic higher education. In addition, funds for the state scholarship and new grant programs would be increased to $29 million, 85 percent of which was to go to students who chose to attend nonpublic institutions.

The Public Segments Dispute for Control of the New Institutions

As a result of the legislative action, the board was given the responsibility of determining the functions, location, and appropriate governing board for each new institution. In the comments to the 1966 Master Plan, the board suggested that these institutions, to be called "senior colleges," would offer a program for juniors, seniors, and beginning graduate students, and thus complement the junior college segment. A further advantage cited for the senior college was that it offered "minimal competition with nonpublic colleges and universities, wherein upper-division students represent only 40 percent of the undergraduate enrollments" (Illinois Board of Higher Education, *A Master Plan--Phase II*, 1966b).

Although there was some difference of opinion about the function and location of these institutions, the segments primarily disagreed about which of the public governing boards would be assigned to develop the new colleges. The board chairman created a "special committee" (known as the Worthy Committee) of seven board members to review and then recommend to the full board "on the function, general location, and the initial governance of the two senior institutions" (Board of Higher Education, Minutes, September 13, 1967). Each segmental governing board was also asked to submit a position paper on the new institutions.

The University of Illinois developed position papers to support its request that it be granted the authority to develop both institutions. The university reviewed its past and present involvement in Chicago and Springfield educational efforts, and described the kind of resources and unique qualifications it could offer to meet the requirements of the senior college concept and the special administrative structure (president and chancellor at each campus) which would facilitate the educational autonomy of the several campuses while providing them with the benefits of the entire segment.

The other three public segments responded to the board's request with relatively simple and short statements which either expressed a mild interest in one institution or no interest at all. The recommendations of the three advisory committees showed some consistency in its views on the Chicago institution but varied considerably with respect to the Springfield campus.

In receiving these conflicting recommendations and position statements from various segments, the Worthy Committee commented, "This total lack of concurrence was, in itself, evidence of the complexity of the problem and of the extent to which people of knowledge and good will, but perhaps differing points of view, can draw wholly different conclusions from the same set of facts" (Board of Higher Education, Report on New Senior Institutions, 1968).

It should be said that it is very doubtful if there was agreement even on the "set of facts."

The Worthy Committee unanimously concluded that the governance of the Chicago institution be awarded to the Board of Governors, and a majority decided that the new Board of Regents should be given jurisdiction to develop the Springfield campus.

The most controversial principle applied by the Worthy Committee was that of the "balance of systems." Although this balance meant primarily a "balance of educational offerings to meet a wide diversity of educational needs," it also meant a balance of financial and political power. Because the committee recognized that "each additional campus in a system broadens the base of political power for that system (i.e., the acquisition of more students, faculty, funds, buildings, etc., as well as the publicity accompanying its growth)," it sought to achieve a "balance in and among systems," and adopted as its model the checks and balances contained in the U.S. Constitution.

The University of Illinois took exception to the use of the principle of balanced systems, and in a statement to the board, held that "The objective in the planning of higher education should not be 'balance' in this political sense. A 'system of systems' created deliberately to set off one system against another is an inappropriate substitute for the evaluation of educational planning by educational merit." The university also took exception to the implications in the report that the university had used its "educational power" in the past to the financial detriment of other institutions (Statement of the University of Illinois Concerning the Report of the Board of Higher Education Special Committee on New Senior Institutions, January 10, 1968).

Because of the University of Illinois' objections to the criteria set forth by the Worthy Committee for justifying their assignment of the new institutions, three recommendations and supporting comments were deleted from the final report accepted by the board. Despite these changes, however, the board supported the Worthy Committee's recommendations on the assignment of the new institutions.

Although the board's Report on New Senior Institutions (1968) does contain a discussion of different types of educational institutions, this discussion provides limited educational justifications for the final governing board assignment. Important questions can be raised concerning the rationale for the board's decisions. For example, if these new "liberal arts universities" or "senior institutions" are to be "educational innovations," a "pioneering segment," seeking a "fresh approach to new goals," then why not create a separate board for their mutual development or place both under the same board? Although the board's final report tried to make a subtle educational distinction between the Chicago and Springfield campuses, actually the logical principles of Committee N's typology were not followed in making campus assignment. It seems clear that political considerations and "system balance" outweighed educational arguments in decisions about assignment of new institutions.

Integration

Most of Illinois' integrative mechanisms are of the administrative variety and do not directly function to increase the educational effectiveness of local campuses.

Quad-Cities Project

Although statewide planners have developed relatively few joint educational ventures so far, they have generated at least one unique idea in their Quad-Cities Project. This project contains aspects of both educational goals and integration, and since it is primarily an integrative effort to fulfill a particularly important higher education need, it is analyzed here in some detail.

The Quad-Cities area comprises four cities located along the Mississippi River. Moline, East Moline, and Rock Island are on the Illinois side, and Davenport is on the Iowa side of the river. Some 600 manufacturing firms are located within this area, the residents of which have expressed a strong interest in obtaining "mid-career training"--graduate education to keep them current with technological advancements, particularly in the fields of engineering, behavioral science, research, business management, and public administration. Although both the University of Iowa and the University of Illinois were offering a few extension courses, these did not allow advanced students to achieve graduate degrees _in toto_ as residents of that area. The project represented a challenge to educational programming by localizing graduate education at a substantial distance from the parent institutions.

A Quad-Cities Technical Advisory Council, a nonprofit corporation of interested business and governmental leaders, was organized to pursue this innovative project. Several industrial firms in the area agreed to place their libraries and other facilities at the disposal of the council, and the board felt that, because of the extent of local interest and demand, a unique partnership could be formed between cooperating universities in two states and the industrial-governmental organizations of the area.

An interinstitutional policy committee and a program planning task force composed of representatives from Iowa and Illinois universities developed an experimental program for a Graduate Center which was approved by the higher education boards of Iowa and Illinois. Governed by a joint board of local citizens and university officials, the Center was to integrate the educational programs of nine institutions, both public and non public, in the Quad-Cities area. The three-year project was to commence operations in 1969 with about $131,000, nearly half of which was to be raised by local groups in the area (Board of Higher Education, Executive Director's Report #71, 1968; A Design for a Graduate Study Center in the Quad-Cities (1968).

One of the most important contributions of the Quad-Cities Project was that it pointed up the fact that in a technological society, higher education has become a lifelong process. Special demands for higher education have been created to meet mid-career technological obsolescence. Illinois responded to these demands with an unusual integrative program drawing upon the academic resources of public and private institutions in two states.

Instructional Resources Consortium

Another of the recommendations of the 1966 plan was to create regional centers for instructional resources. Because of the rapid expansion of the Illinois system of higher education and the corresponding faculty shortages, educators and planners are interested in new ways of stretching instructional resources. New technology, represented by automated and programmed learning, educational television, and team teaching, portends significant improvements for higher education. The creation of regional centers was seen as an innovative way for many institutions to share costly instructional resources, and the board explored the idea of creating such regional consortia, composed of both public and nonpublic institutions. When an attempt was made, however, to plan a pilot project of the consortium idea, each university wanted to develop its own instructional resources consortium or indicated little interest, and the nonpublic institutions did not respond positively. As a consequence, the project was dropped, and the last systematic inventory of cooperative academic programs was conducted and reported on by the Commission of Higher Education in 1960.

The 1966 Master Plan also called for an extensive study of the ways in which library resources could be developed and utilized to keep pace with the rapid growth of higher education. A study committee on libraries was created to study ways of designing cooperative arrangements for the sharing of library resources on a state or regional basis by both public and nonpublic institutions (Board of Higher Education, Executive Director's Report #70, 1968).

Comprehensive Information System

The 1967 legislature authorized the Board of Higher Education, in consultation with the Department of Finance, to "design and establish a state university and college information system to provide comprehensive, meaningful, and timely information pertinent to the formulation of decisions and recommendations by the Board (The School Code of Illinois, 1967)."

By 1969 five major elements had been integrated into the higher education management information system: unit cost studies (begun in 1963), physical facilities surveys (begun in 1965), Master Plan Study Committee B on Admission and Retention of Students (reactivated 1968), faculty board reports, and the computer data systems study. In close collaboration with the public institutions, the Board of Higher Education thus developed one of the nation's most sophisticated management information systems.

Segmental Efforts

Various formal and informal efforts have been made to integrate higher education activities with one another, the single most important effort having been in the area of articulation between the junior colleges and the "senior colleges," the four-year baccalaureate-granting institutions, and the universities.

Articulation

With the development of a statewide junior college network, the expansion of existing institutions, and the creation of new "senior" institutions and a new Board of Regents, a salient issue facing Illinois higher education is one of effective articulation between these network parts. The Board of Higher Education and especially the Junior College Board took a number of steps to resolve student transfer difficulties before they became major problems. One of the most important of those steps was the formation of the Illinois Council on Articulation, sponsored by the Illinois Joint Council on Higher Education, the Federation of Independent Illinois Colleges and Universities, and the Illinois Association of Community Junior Colleges. This council was recommended by a state-wide articulation conference for Illinois colleges and universities held in the spring of 1966. Thus, the 31-member council was formed, representing two-year and four-year institutions, both public and nonpublic.

A resolution passed by the Illinois Conference on Higher Education (1969) outlined the purpose of the Council on Articulation as follows:

> 1. To provide a medium for the voluntary convening of representatives of all institutions to promote the improvement of articulation with special emphasis upon effecting the smooth transition of students from one institution to another.
>
> 2. To formulate recommended guidelines which would serve as one basis for the formulation of individual institutional policies regarding admission of transfer students, and to make recommendations to other appropriate bodies.
>
> 3. To collect and report statistical data and other pertinent information regarding transfer students among the colleges in the state.
>
> 4. To promote, stimulate and coordinate research, and when desirable to conduct research, in order to encourage creative experimentation on transfer problems.

5. To gather and disseminate pertinent information on educational opportunities for college transfer students, including but not limited to financial aid.

In its first full business meeting, the council heard a report of the Sub-committee on Goals and Priorities which outlined five areas for study: 1) principles and policies underlying articulation; 2) exchange of information; 3) further council needs for organizational and policy improvements; 4) problems related to admissions, transfer of credits, and success of junior college students; and 5) problems related to the articulation of curriculum-personnel services. From this list of projects, three were chosen for immediate study--success of transfer students, new institutions, and exchange of information.

Probably the most significant activity undertaken was the study of transfer students' performance. The purpose of the study was to determine the magnitude, mobility patterns, intellectual and academic characteristics, and success of the undergraduate transfer students to 86 Illinois institutions during the 1967-68 academic year. These students were to be studied for the next three years to determine their performance at the receiving institutions.

Two progress reports were prepared by spring 1969. The council identified almost 30,000 students--about one out of every ten undergraduate students enrolled in higher education--as qualifying for the study. The principal findings reported were that:

1. Private institutions in Illinois are losing transfer students to the public institutions.

2. More students are transferring from private four-year institutions to public two-year institutions than to public four-year institutions.
3. The public senior institutions are accepting almost all of their transfers. This may indicate improved articulation and not merely selection (Preliminary Report I, February, 1969).
4. Transfer students from public four-year institutions are much more likely to have been dropped by the institution than students who transferred from private four-year colleges, private or public two-year colleges, or professional-technical schools (Preliminary Report II, March 1969).

In addition to the statewide and segmental efforts to improve articulation, all public senior universities have established their own mechanisms. Illustrative of these more individual institutional efforts is the University Coordinating Committee for Junior College Services at Southern Illinois University. Seven task forces were formed under the Coordinating Committee to handle the various types of articulation problems, such as libraries and instructional aids; academic programs; technical education programs; training of junior college personnel; television, radio and electronic communications; and special services. The University of Illinois for many years has been similarly concerned with promoting the junior colleges and improving articulation efforts.

Interview data indicate several problems about articulation and related issues. One, for example, is that the more selective admissions policy being adopted by the senior universities is intensifying the difficulty of smooth articulation. Part of this difficulty should be abated, however, by the final establishment of the junior colleges and the fuller assessment of their academic programs possible at that time.

One of the first questions raised by junior college administrators and faculty was the prospect of seeking approvals for occupational curricula programs from four boards--local, State Vocational, State Junior College, and State Board of Higher Education. Because such an extended review process could be expected to dampen faculty enthusiasm for initiating bold curricular programs, the Board of Higher Education, in conjunction with the Junior College Board, the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Board of Vocational Rehabilitation and Education, and the governor's office, is formulating a unified procedure for clearance of new junior college units of instruction in occupational programs and is developing a statewide plan for future occupational training in Illinois junior colleges (Board of Higher Education, Executive Director's Report #58, 1967). At present, there is a three-step process of program approval with forms to be filled out at each of the stages. These forms have been standardized so that all three boards act upon the same set of forms submitted by the institution.

Another more subtle aspect of the articulation issue was expressed by a junior college faculty member:

> The role of the junior colleges and their relationship to the senior universities often come up in student questions. Students know the alternative routes to education. Still, students question whether or not junior colleges are accredited. Not enough is being done to correct this. Junior colleges have not fully explained their role to the public as an alternative route to an education. Junior colleges are always downplayed and considered the last resort. This hurts quality efforts.

In general, Illinois higher education leaders confronted articulation problems directly and took steps to facilitate the mobility of students throughout the network. The interview data confirm this success in handling transfer students; few people in the state cited articulation as presently causing serious difficulty. It may be that the Illinois statewide junior college system is too recent and has not been tested yet. However, the formation of the Council on Articulation and the serious involvement of the state universities in devising special mechanisms to assist the transfer student have worked to reduce possible strains.

RESOURCE ALLOCATION

Two types of decisions set important limits on planning and the development of higher education: those related to the allocation of funds and those related to the budgeting process within higher education itself. The following assessment compares Illinois with the other states in the level of support given higher education and discusses the ways in which fiscal resources and personnel are allocated among institutions and segments.

State Support of Higher Education

One of the wealthiest states in the nation, Illinois ranks among the top ten states in per capita personal income--the most widely accepted measure of disposable wealth. Of the major industrial states, Illinois usually ranks third or fourth behind New York, California, and New Jersey. In terms of total personal income, Illinois ranks third behind New York and California (Master Plan Study Committee J, 1963).

Indicators of the disposal of this wealth, however, reveal that, compared with the other 49 states, the state government receives a small share of its citizens' income. Among the states, Illinois ranked 34th in 1950, 47th in 1960, and 47th in 1967 in its "effort" toward providing services to its people, as reflected by the personal income paid in state and local tax expenditures (Committee J, 1963; U. S. News and World Report, 1967).

The major reason for this disparity between the state's gross product and its support of state and local government services is an archaic tax structure. Illinois has a highly regressive tax structure, based largely upon a 5 percent sales tax, and has had no individual income or corporate net income tax (Grove, 1960; Fisher, 1961). In 1969, however, under a new Republican governor, the legislature approved a state income tax, effective in fall of 1969, of 4 percent on corporations and 2-1/2 percent on individuals. Except for high local property taxes, state and local taxes are low in Illinois in relation to the taxpaying capacity of the state. There is a considerable resource margin that can be drawn upon to increase support for public services, including higher education (Board of Higher Education, Executive Director's Report #71, 1968).

An analysis of the level of state support given to higher education vis-à-vis other public services reveals that the state has doubled the proportion of its operating support for higher education over the years, increasing from 6 percent in 1959-61 to 13 percent in the 1967-69 biennium (Illinois Blue Book, 1967-68). When the large capital commitment of the 1967-69 biennium is added to the operating level of support, it can be seen that higher education received about 16 percent of the total state funds allocated, a substantial improvement over the past decade. The proposed higher education budgets for the coming biennium indicate that the percentage level of support will continue to rise.

Compared with other industrial states (California, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Texas, Michigan among others), Illinois ranks 5th in per capita state expenditures for higher education, and 16th among all fifty states. However, this index of spending, used largely because it is the major index available, is one of the least valid, because it does not take into account per capita income, state gross product, or the proportion of students enrolled in nonpublic institutions.

The eight-year percentage gain (1960-67) in state support for operating expenses among selected states found Illinois ranking 7th with a 234 percent gain (preceded by New York, 449 percent; Massachusetts, 374 percent; Missouri, 275 percent; Ohio, 248 percent; Wisconsin, 248 percent; Pennsylvania, 245 percent; and California, 183 percent).

Compared with the national average gain of 214 percent, Illinois ranked 18th. Taking into consideration the base of support from which the gains were made, other states are substantially behind Illinois in terms of the absolute dollar amounts committed to higher education (Board of Higher Education, Executive Director's Report #60, 1967).

With respect to the level of support for higher education, therefore, Illinois kept pace with the national average increases during the 1960s. As the Executive Director stated: "Illinois' 18th place ranking among the states in its gains over the past eight years indicates that the state will have to continue its sizeable increases during the next several biennia in order to keep its same relative position. If Illinois is to improve its relative position (a reasonable assumption given its high per capita income and its median place among the states in rate of college going), even greater increases will be required (Board of Higher Education, Executive Director's Report #60, 1967)."

Budget Review in Public Higher Education

Although there are many parties involved in the process of budget review, only three--the governor, the Budgetary Commission, and the Board of Higher Education--are involved in the critical decisions regarding total level of support and final allocation among the public segments.

The Role of the Governor. As the chief executive officer, the governor has more opportunity to influence legislative action and budgetary policy than any other single agency or individual.

Under the Democratic Kerner administration and the master plan developed by the newly created Board of Higher Education, the state decided to commit itself in a substantial way to higher education. The most marked increases in support came during the 1965 and 1967 bienniums. In a Special Message on Higher Education to the 1967 General Assembly, Governor Kerner stressed his administration's position on higher education and the need for Illinois to expand its support. The governor strongly endorsed the work of the Board of Higher Education, but emphasized the enormous task, identified through planning, of accommodating Illinois youth. He called upon the legislature to support his efforts by significantly expanding higher education during the 1967-69 biennium (Kerner, 1967).

Role of the Budgetary Commission. The Budgetary Commission's primary function is to advise the governor during the preparation of his biennial budget and to advise the General Assembly concerning the salient features of that budget. In this connection, the commission holds open hearings on the biennial requests of all state agencies and makes recommendations to the governor. These hearings normally begin in September of even-numbered years, prior to the convening of the regular session of the General Assembly in January. The budget is usually presented to the legislature in April (Illinois Blue Book, 1965-66).

The Budgetary Commission is composed of 14 members, seven from each house of the legislature. The commission has the legal power to make cost studies and management analyses of all operations of the state government, and to check on performance by state agencies under appropriation bills and authorizations. But because the commission has had only a two-man staff in the past, its ability to carry out its duties is limited. Thus, the Budgetary Commission is essentially a legislative advisory group which gives the governor a preview of legislative attitudes on budget questions.

In the past the Budgetary Commission generally accepted the budget data and recommendations of the Board of Higher Education. Interview data revealed, however, that during the recent 1965-67 biennium, there was a growing concern among legislative leaders that the state's financial condition was precarious and that higher education budgets had grown markedly without their close review. Even so, the Budgetary Commission and the legislature appropriated what the Board of Higher Education requested in 1967.

In the future, a five-man staff will provide the commission with greater technical expertise by analyzing the budgets for public welfare, education, mental health, highways, and other activities like the judiciary. Also, to facilitate the work of the legislature, an observer has been designated to attend the meetings of the Board of Higher Education, and to report on the perspectives held by the various parties in debates and on the possible implications underlying the decisions taken.

Role of Illinois Building Authority. To meet the capital expenditures required for Illinois governmental services and at the same time avoid using general revenue sources entirely, the legislature created an Illinois Building Authority (IBA) in 1961. This Authority has the power to sell revenue bonds to pay for the construction costs of state buildings. Because there has been no state income tax until recently, a substantial part of higher education's construction needs has been financed through the Illinois Building Authority.

The Illinois Building Authority had been authorized by the previous three general assemblies to sell $511 million worth of bonds for higher education facilities, but as of April 1969, only $255 million were sold. The junior colleges especially were having difficulties in obtaining funds for their new campuses, as only $65.3 million out of $145.5 million in bonds had been sold (Illinois Building Authority, 1969). One of the major difficulties that delayed junior college construction was a long and serious court suit involving the constitutionality of the 1965 Junior College Act. This litigation was settled by mid-1968, and recent IBA bond issues have given priority to junior college construction needs.

During the 1963-65 biennium, the institutions themselves caused considerable delay in obtaining construction funds because they did not have detailed facilities plans ready, and the IBA does not sell bonds until the institutions are ready for immediate construction. Another aspect of this problem was that the Board of Higher Education did not provide and the institutions did not have available the funds necessary to complete the facilities plans. In subsequent biennial budgets, funds have been set aside for this type of planning.

In the 1965-67 biennium, a different kind of problem caused additional delays. As field interviews in late 1967 revealed, the

IBA was unable to sell enough bonds to keep up with the rate of building construction needed because the interest rate was too low. This came about because the legislature at each biennial session establishes the maximum interest rate that the IBA can set during the coming two years, and this maximum has often been lower than the prevailing market rates, which customarily increase during the biennium. Thus the backlog of authorized but non-funded buildings accumulated. The interest rate problem was partially resolved in 1968 when the legislature authorized higher levels of interest, but with the recent changes in the bond market situation, by 1969 the IBA once again faced difficulty in selling its bonds.

In addition to these factors, the general financial condition of the state has curtailed construction activities. The Board of Higher Education has found it necessary to develop, with the support of the public institutions, a priority system for allocating capital funds. Furthermore, the new governor in January 1969 imposed a freeze on all new state construction at the very time when the need for new facilities was critical if the objectives of the state's master plan for higher education were to be met.

More basic than these difficulties is the continual question raised by both legislators and educators over what is the most appropriate way to raise funds for capital construction. A great deal of discussion has been taking place regarding the merits of the IBA approach to funding. Before the advent of the IBA, the legislature carefully reviewed capital budgets and trimmed them back when most financing was paid off through general revenue funds.

But with the creation of the IBA, the legislative reviews decreased significantly. Now some legislators are taking a renewed interest in the IBA:

> The concept is wrong . . . they can't sell their bonds and this causes too many delays. I think the situation is going to change. I favor instead the general revenue bond approach where the public is given the opportunity to vote yes or no on bond referendums. Now the legislature simply votes yes or no on recommendations of IBA about buildings which are in the public interest.

A contrary view is presented by another legislator:

> The legislature is divided over IBA. The issue is which approach to use--"pay as you go" or "general revenue bond." You cannot issue general revenue bonds without going to a referendum. I don't think IBA's days are numbered. There is too much support right now in the legislature.

At the present time, the Board of Higher Education and the state face four alternatives: 1) Cut back on the building program; 2) Continue with the IBA; 3) Pay for more of its building program out of current revenues; or 4) Hold a referendum and sell general obligation bonds. The most economical method of providing needed construction funds is, of course, through appropriations from current revenues. If the state resorts to borrowing, there is a choice between general obligation bonds and IBA revenue bonds. The Illinois Constitution, however, requires approval of general obligation bonds at a statewide referendum, and one such attempt was made in 1958, when the state submitted a $195 million bond proposal to the voters. It was rejected then, but was passed in 1960. Revenue bonds can be issued more expeditiously, saving the time lag of the bond referendum and the uncertainty of its outcome. But they are more expensive in the long run because of their higher interest rate.

The Role of the Board of Higher Education. The statute creating the Board of Higher Education gave it the responsibility for reviewing public institutional budget requests and recommending to the legislature and the governor the total higher education budget for each biennium.

Tables 9 and 10 show operating and capital budget requests, the Board's recommendations, and the legislative appropriations over the past decade. Although not completely revealed by these data, there was in fact a slow growth in budget appropriations during the 1950s which has now been superseded by a sharp rise in requests and approved funds during the last three biennia.

Part of the recent success in obtaining budget appropriations can be attributed to work of the Budget Formula Committee, established by the Board of Higher Education in 1963. This standing committee proposed specific procedures and formulas for higher education's budgets, and developed for the 1965-67 biennium a single budget formula which reflected the differences in function and type of program at the public institutions (Board of Higher Education, Second Biennial Report, 1965). The committee also recommended that the board sponsor a "long-range plan for securing unit cost data," and these data have been valuable in refining budget formulas and guidelines for subsequent biennial requests. In short, the work of the Budget Formula Committee has unquestionably helped the board in its task of budget and program analysis.

Generally, the board (in conjunction with the universities) closely scrutinized institutional requests and has been successful

TABLE 9

Operating Budgets, 1959 to 1969, in millions

	1959-61	%	1961-63	%	1963-65	%	1965-67	%	1967-69	%	1969-71	%
Governing Board Requests	217,210		257,774		306,911		458,145		617,244		998,356	
Bd. of Higher Education Recommendations					292,269	95.2	431,816	94.3	597,947	96.9	939,887	95.1
Legislative Appropriations	194,449	89.5	235,595	91.4	292,269	95.2	431,816	94.3	592,601	96.0		

Sources: Executive Directors Reports, Biennial Reports; Chambers 1963, 1965, 1967.

TABLE 10

Capital Budgets, 1959 to 1969, in millions

	1959-61	%	1961-63	%	1963-65	%	1965-67	%	1967-69	%	1969-71	%
Governing Board Requests					78,771		163,173		649,375		730,830	
Bd. of Higher Education Recommendations					42,174	51.6	126,991	77.8	405,265	62.4	500,296	68.4
Legislative Appropriations					40,030	51.3	139,629	85.6	432,053	66.5		

Sources: Executive Director's Reports, Biennial Reports; Chambers 1963, 1965, 1967.

in obtaining legislative approval for the record budgets of the last three biennia. Almost all of the institutional representatives interviewed in the state praised the work of the board in this area and felt that substantial improvements had been made in the level of support for higher education. The data in Table 9 reveal that the board has consistently cut about 5 percent of the institutional requests, but before the board began to analyze budgets (1959 and 1961 biennia) the legislature was cutting institutional requests by at least 10 percent.

Currently, the Board of Higher Education is concerned about the present system of budget preparation for higher education, known as incremental budgeting. With this type of budgeting, institutions automatically start their next biennium requests from the base approved in the past biennium, thus simply projecting their additional needs and corresponding costs for the coming two-year period. This procedure does not, however, adequately recognize that some programs are approved for a limited time period only and that others may no longer be required. Under the incremental budget system, some duplication and inefficiency are permanently built into the base of institutional budgets.

To overcome such deficiencies, the board's staff has been periodically pushing for "de novo budgeting," which requires a total review and justification of all programs in the budget. Although this is essentially the same as program budgeting, institutions tend to resist this budgeting conception on the ground that the present system of incremental budgeting must remain until there are agreed upon and measurable criteria of performance. Institutions evidently fear a loss of internal budget autonomy and overcentralization of control in the Board of Higher Education if program budgeting is implemented.

A brief comment needs to be made about the level of support for the junior colleges. In adopting the recommendations of the 1964 Master Plan, the state committed itself to giving substantial support to a system of junior colleges by agreeing to provide 50 percent of the operating costs and 75 percent of the capital construction costs of new institutions. Such a financial policy was designed to spur the development of a statewide network of junior colleges, and was given a high priority for funds among the competing segments. Public response to this plan far exceeded most observers' expectations, and by 1969 there were 34 new Class I junior college districts, with more to be created.

In a recent study of junior college finances during the mid-60s, Anderson (1967) found that the state was supporting the junior colleges at about the 31-33 percent level instead of the advocated 50 percent level, for two reasons: 1) Initially, new high cost programs at the junior colleges had low enrollments, but this turned out to be a temporary condition for a select group of institutions, and 2) Although the original master plan had not anticipated that local districts would charge tuition, the 1965 law which made tuition optional resulted in rather large tuitions, which are used to partially defray local operating costs. Thus the state has been matching the local districts operating costs rather than 50 percent of such costs, including tuition. The Board of Higher Education has indicated that it will continue to match operating funds derived from local revenues.

For the 1969-71 biennium, the board has recommended that the existing $11.50 per credit hour be raised to $15.50 so that the state's contribution will both meet the 50 percent level of support and provide the funds necessary to equalize the expenditures of the junior college districts (Board of Higher Education, Executive Director's Report #71, 1968).

EDUCATIONAL AUTONOMY AT THE CAMPUS LEVEL

In the previous sections on goals, educational integration, and resource allocation, it was found that critical decisions made by the Board of Higher Education significantly affected the basic character and future development of Illinois higher education. The focus now is on the major question that has guided the overall research effort: What has been the impact of these statewide decisions upon the educational autonomy of the local colleges and universities?

The primary concern is with the effects of decisions which influence the character of a college or university, that is, its ability to achieve its academic objectives and programs. This is the core of educational autonomy. The term educational effectiveness will also be used to assess how well the higher education network has been able to meet its goals. For Illinois, this has generally meant a quantitative expansion of educational opportunities to students who otherwise would not be attending college.

Coordination Comes of Age in Illinois[1]

Since almost all important critical decisions made in higher education during the 1960s were the result of master planning efforts and policies of the Board of Higher Education, the following analysis focuses upon the relationships between the board and the various segments:

1. The board must approve any new unit of instruction, research, and public service proposed by the governing boards of any state institution. In 1967 the board was given the further responsibility of "reviewing periodically all existing programs of instruction, research and public service at the state universities and colleges and to advise the appropriate governing board if the contribution of each program is not educationally and economically justified (The School Code of Illinois, 1967)." The board also has the authority to establish minimum admissions standards for public junior colleges, four-year colleges, and state universities. The

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[1] This phrase was borrowed from a speech by the first Executive Director of the Board, Richard G. Browne, at the School Law Conference, Northern Illinois University, July 19, 1967.

governing boards of the state universities and colleges can establish higher minimum admissions standards if they so desire.

2. The board has the power to review, analyze, and recommend, but not to approve the biennial budget requests of the several governing boards. The board thus submits its recommendations concerning the budgets prepared by individual governing boards and institutions which could appeal to the governor or the legislature when they felt their budgets had been unfairly reviewed. In 1965 the board gained the power to approve plans submitted by institutions for improvements of noninstructional facilities.

3. The board has broad powers in the preparation of the Illinois Master Plan.

> The Board shall analyze the present and future aims, needs and requirements of higher education in the State of Illinois and prepare a master plan for the development, expansion, integration, coordination and efficient utilization of the facilities, curricula, and standards of higher education for the public institutions of higher education in the areas of teaching, research and public service...The Board shall engage in a continuing study, analysis and evaluation of the master plan so developed and it shall be its responsibility to recommend, from time to time as it determines, amendments and modifications of any master plan enacted by the General Assembly. (School Code, 1967, p. 394)

In the formulation of the master plan, the board was instructed to give "consideration to the problems and attitudes of private colleges and universities and of other educational groups" as they relate to the overall policies and problems of public higher education. The governor also designated the board as the agency to administer various federal programs and acts.

It is clear that the board has strong controls over the definition of goals, approval of programs, and allocation of resources, and that with its creation the traditional autonomy of the local institution was invaded.

With the adoption of Phase I of the Master Plan by the Board of Higher Education in July 1964, the board became embroiled in a controversy with the University of Illinois over different interpretations of the plan. The controversy focused on Recommendation 19 of the plan and involved two basic questions: First, were the junior colleges to have priority over the development of four-year campuses, or were both types of institutions to be developed simultaneously? Second, would the new four-year campuses be branch operations of existing universities or would they be freestanding institutions placed under an existing or new governing board?

In December 1964, the Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois announced a proposal and a three-fold program for campus planning during the next seven years, which called for a second campus in the Chicago area by 1971, the study of branch campuses in Peoria, Springfield, Decatur, Rockford, and Rock Island, and the reactivation of the Navy Pier branch by the fall of 1966.

By February 1965, the staff of the Board of Higher Education had prepared a report and several recommendations for the board's consideration in response to the University's proposals. The board adopted the staff's recommendations with a few minor changes. It proposed that an ad hoc committee be formed to consider the need to reactivate the Navy Pier campus, and that the board itself study the need for additional four-year campuses and determine desirable enrollment capacities of public institutions. Adopting the policy of approving new senior institutions only where junior colleges were already operating, the ad hoc committee reported in April 1965 that it was inadvisable for the University of Illinois to reactivate the Navy Pier facilities. In effect, then, the Board of Higher Education's actions placed a moratorium on immediate planning for branch campuses by the state universities.

By the fall of 1965 the board had created master plan study committees on Institutional Size and Capacity, Demography and Location, and Governing Structure which recommended in Phase II of the master plan the future expansion of Illinois higher education. The details of these reports and subsequent board action were recounted earlier in the discussion of the new institutions controversy.

The significance of the new institutions controversy for the orderly development of Illinois higher education cannot be overestimated. Although the University of Illinois had made a persuasive case for its planning proposals and presented data which indicated the shortage of educational facilities and the immediacy of the enrollment crisis, the Board of Higher Education was nevertheless able to delay action on the university's proposals until Phase II. Despite official denials by the University of Illinois, this controversy can be viewed as the first major test of the Board of Higher Education's planning authority. The core of the 1964 plan was the creation of a state-supported system of junior colleges, and this the University of Illinois' plan may well have placed in jeopardy. The board's action during the winter of 1965 preserved the integrity of the master plan as originally developed and fostered the success of the junior college development.

The year 1967 was important to the board in further securing its legitimate position in the higher education network. After gaining legislative approval and almost unanimous support for the 1964 Master Plan, the board successfully countered opposition to the recommendations of the Master Plan-Phase II which arose from several institutions. Thus, the Board of Higher Education and coordination "came of age in Illinois."

The University of Illinois: A Comprehensive or Elite Institution?

Prior to 1961, the University of Illinois was one of three public segments of higher education, and was relatively free to develop in any direction it chose, approval for its plans dependent only on gubernatorial approval and legislative support. By the time the Board of Higher Education was created, the University of Illinois was the major comprehensive university system in the state, and as such, it evidently became engaged in a struggle for educational power and dominance in the state, as illustrated by the new institutions controversy.

The Worthy Committee (1967) report on new senior institutions focused on the controversy between the board's staff and the

University of Illinois when it attempted to define the mission of the university. Outlining principal reasons why the university should not be assigned any of the new institutions, the committee identified "the heart of the University endeavor" as "the training of the intellectually elite."

The university has repeatedly claimed, however, that its uniqueness lies in the combination of "diversity and comprehensiveness of its educational program," and that the Worthy Committee sought to impose a character and a direction of development for the university that was not discussed with the Board of Trustees or the members of the General Assembly. Although the Board of Higher Education's staff responded, through a position paper by its Executive Director, to certain of the university's factual points and interpretations, what is important is the university's perspective (Glenny, 1968). Conceiving of itself as a comprehensive institution which serves many kinds of students, the university clearly considers its educational autonomy impaired at whatever point the board interferes with its attempts to transform its beliefs into educational programs.

The Chicago Circle Campus

The assessment of educational autonomy at the Chicago Circle campus is more difficult. This campus has been growing very rapidly, and by 1968 it had 13 new M.A. programs and seven new Ph.D. programs approved by the board. In the sense that this expansion was given board support, the Chicago Circle campus increased its autonomy by providing needed programs for its students. But the very rapid rate of growth at Chicago Circle caused some problems. As one respondent at the campus commented:

> Chicago Circle has been growing at a rate of 2000 FTE students per year. The campus has literally 'bit off more than it can chew.' Because of this quick mushroom growth, they have not been able to absorb students and staff properly. In my department, for example, we have hired 10 new faculty from 10 different institutions who want to do things in 10 different ways.

Several faculty complained that the excessive growth rate at Chicago Circle had negative consequences for its educational program because new faculty, new students, and new facilities cannot be academically assimilated quickly into a productive university environment. These problems associated with rapid growth will continue at Chicago Circle, since its enrollment will climb from a 1968 level of 14,000 to a projected 31,000 students by 1980.

A Regional University

The development of Southern Illinois University from a large regional university to the state's second public comprehensive university segment was somewhat different, since it had to overcome academic restrictions in the legislature which were specifically designed to limit its expansion. Southern had to remove the limitations of being a teacher training institution only (which it did in 1943), achieve its own governing board (1949), and secure approval to develop engineering and other professional programs (1961).

The most recent Health Education Study recommends that Southern establish medical and dental centers.

In addition to its own appreciable efforts to achieve its present status, Southern's position was vastly improved by the Board of Higher Education's master planning work, which made it possible for the university to realize its aspirations more easily and with a firmer level of financial support. Also, since the board reduced the level of administrative competition between the two comprehensive universities, Southern was able to concentrate its energies on developing the Edwardsville campus, initiated before the board was created in 1957.

State Colleges and Universities

No other public segment contains within it such diverse institutions as those located under the Board of Governors. In 1965 the State Legislature approved the recommendation of the 1964 Master Plan to transfer the two Chicago teachers' colleges from the Chicago Board of Education to the Board of Governors. Supporting this recommendation was a special study (Havighurst, 1964), which collected detailed evidence about the inadequacies of the teachers' colleges, especially in the area of facilities, and documented faculty dissatisfaction over existing conditions.

In 1966, several additional changes were made. As a result of the 1966 plan, the Board of Higher Education enlarged the mission of the teachers' colleges by making them multi-purpose urban state colleges. Chicago State College also acquired a new president and completed plans for building a new and larger campus. All of these important changes came in a three-year period and affected the level of educational autonomy in different ways.

The interview data revealed that both faculty and administrators enthusiastically approved the transfer from the Chicago Board of Education, feeling that improved state support would in time make up for past deficiencies, and that new facilities, especially at Chicago State College, would improve faculty morale and teaching effectiveness. There was considerable faculty concern, however, both at Northeastern and Chicago State, about their enlarged missions. A significant proportion of the faculty were devoted to the teaching-training mission and realized that the broadening of their role meant a fundamental change in the character of the colleges. At Northeastern several faculty expressed fears that impending changes would negatively affect their innovative teacher preparation curriculum. To the extent, then, that serious divisions occur among the faculty and administrators over proposed new missions of institutions, the educational autonomy of their programs may be impaired.

For Eastern and Western Illinois Universities, the other two institutions under the Board of Governors, the problems are markedly different. Both institutions are located in relatively small communities, isolated from the large population areas of the state and with slower rates of growth than the liberal arts universities. Eastern expressed satisfaction with its controlled rate of growth because it desires to be "a university of high quality that sees no special virtue in great size or rapid growth," and it has resisted a policy of wide-open enrollment expansion because it feels such "unbridled expansion would tax faculty and physical facilities to the extent that the educational program would be impaired." Eastern has, however, encountered difficulty with the two six-year programs it has proposed. Both were initially rejected by the Board of Higher Education, although one of these was later approved. In 1968, another sixth year program, the Specialist in College Teaching, was approved in mathematics.

Individuals at both Eastern and Western Illinois Universities indicated general satisfaction with the level of financial support and felt that it was adequate to support the kind of academic programs offered by the two universities. Their basic complaint was that the thrust of master planning and of Board of Higher Education policies was on the development of junior colleges and new senior institutions, and that the effect of such decision-making was to overlook or largely ignore the problems facing older traditional institutions like Eastern and Western. They also felt that the energies of the Board of Governors were largely directed toward the problems of the urban state colleges in Chicago.

The Liberal Arts Universities

The faculty at Northern Illinois University persistently sought to enlarge the mission of the institution beyond teacher training, to remove earlier program restrictions set by the legislature, and to obtain their own governing board as Southern Illinois University had 15 years earlier. In 1966, the Board of Higher Education created a new Board of Regents to govern both Northern and Illinois State University, rejecting a separate governing board for Northern on the grounds that such a decision might set a precedent for each institution to ask for its own board. The new Regency segment was thus established to free these particular institutions from certain restrictions of the Board of Governors so that they could promote different educational goals. Northern and Illinois State Universities were authorized to develop doctoral programs primarily in the liberal arts and sciences (hence the designation of liberal arts universities) and were not to become comprehensive universities.

Spokesmen for both institutions indicated that they achieved not only significant autonomy under the new governing board, but also important financial gains which improved their overall educational effectiveness. The dominant characteristic of these institutions was very rapid growth. Both Northern Illinois University and Illinois State have added about 2000 new students per year to their campuses since 1966. In addition, both institutions have new presidents and administrative staffs. Many faculty have voiced the concern, however, that the institutions grew too fast and changed their educational goals too rapidly, and some claim the climate for learning is impaired under these conditions. At Illinois State there is a special uneasiness that the new mission of the university will downgrade their distinguished teacher education program. A key administrator at Northern Illinois University had this to say about the effects of rapid growth on academic programs:

> There are some controls now being developed by Northern to offset the disadvantages of rapid growth. First, they have raised the entrance requirements to the upper fifty percent of the high school graduating class. Second, the faculty/student ratio was up too high. It is down considerably from what it was, but Northern wants to lower it further. Third, Northern stopped enrollment applications last March and Illinois State did the same thing.

The State-Supported Junior College System

One of the most important accomplishments of statewide planning in Illinois was the creation of a state-supported community college system. The 1964 Master Plan was successfully implemented and substantial state support was allocated to the junior colleges. For almost all of the junior colleges in the state, this decision meant the construction of new facilities and the opportunity to plan new programs for new types of students. The statewide decision was especially meaningful to Chicago City College, most of which was housed in secondary or elementary school buildings.

Although certain existing junior colleges were consulted about new goals for junior colleges, the requirements of their comprehensive mission were defined by the Board of Higher Education.

A part of the comprehensive mission which a few institutions found it difficult to accept was the vocational-technical curriculum. Since the existing junior colleges were traditionally of the transfer type, the faculty in certain colleges questioned the imposition of new curricula and enlargement of the mission. Because the dispute over the appropriate goals of a junior college consumed a large amount of faculty time and energy and often resulted in splitting the faculty into antagonistic groups, many faculty claim that the educational autonomy of such colleges was impaired.

In view of the earlier theoretical discussion about the importance of establishing a meaningful differentiation of functions among institutions and of applying the system of systems typology to a network of junior colleges within a geographical area, it seems reasonable that the various branches of the Chicago system could be allowed to develop and maintain distinctive educational identities as long as overall system balance is maintained.

In a second and very direct way, many junior colleges were concerned over decisions made at the statewide level. As the Junior College Board formulated guidelines regarding the recognition of state-supported junior colleges and the approval of new programs, a number of junior colleges visited expressed concern about the proscriptive nature of these guidelines, feeling that they directly affected their autonomy and to some extent their educational effectiveness. In December 1967, the Junior College Board's statement of the various statutory duties, policies, and definitions relevant to program approval by the Board of Higher Education, the Junior College Board, and the Board of Vocational Education and Rehabilitation, made it apparent that there were not only overlapping jurisdictions, but that problems might result from the double approval required for vocational and technical programs by the Junior College Board and the Board of Vocational Education and Rehabilitation. In those cases where junior college programs were delayed or not even developed because of this approval process, the educational autonomy of these institutions was curtailed. In 1969 the procedure for program approval was simplified, and the possibility of duplicative efforts was reduced.

Prospects for the Future: Challenge, Change, and Uncertainty

Higher education in Illinois continues to encounter pressures created in large part by its own record of success. Underlying the pervasive pressures and initial success are the dynamics of educational growth. A decade ago the state provided higher education opportunities for 169,000 students. In 1967 the figure dramatically increased to 344,000 students (a 103 percent increase) and projections to 1980 indicate that a total of 680,000 students will be enrolled in Illinois colleges and universities (a 97 percent increase over the 1967 base). Enrollments over the past decade doubled and are expected to double again in the next 12 years. The college enrollment rate rose rapidly from 37 percent in 1957 to 54 percent in

1968, and the estimated rate for 1977 is 75 percent of the college age populations.

Even more remarkable was the growth rate in public institutions. In 1957 public colleges and universities enrolled 71,000 students. In 1967 these institutions enrolled over 209,000 students, an increase of 194 percent. By 1980 public institutions are expected to accommodate 473,000 students, which is an additional 126 percent gain over the 1967 base (Froehlich, 1967; Illinois Board of Higher Education, 1966a. Public higher education expanded more in the decade of the 1960s than it had in the preceding 100 years.

Faced with the prospects presented by the impending enrollment crisis, the state in 1961 created a Board of Higher Education to coordinate and plan for the orderly development of Illinois colleges and universities. Through the board's master planning efforts, the state achieved a vast expansion of its educational programs and facilities during the 1960s. The most salient aspect of this expansion was the creation of a state-supported comprehensive junior college system. In addition, existing institutions grew in size and function, new public senior institutions were authorized, and state aid to private colleges and universities was increased through extended state scholarship and loan programs. The legislature indicated the state's willingness to support higher education by substantially increasing the level of dollar support, especially in the last three biennia. By quantitatively expanding the entire higher education network, the state greatly increased the opportunities for higher education available to its citizens.

The impact of these statewide decisions on the educational autonomy of the institutions was not uniformly positive throughout the higher education network. From the data cited above, it is clear that the five public segments experienced rapid rates of growth and in general improved their educational effectiveness. In some cases, however, this rate of growth was somewhat excessive, resulting in the overcrowding of facilities, a lack of appropriate facilities, the necessity to limit enrollments, and difficulties in properly assimilating large numbers of new students and staff into the educational program.

Difficulties of this nature were found at the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Northern Illinois University, Illinois State University, Northeastern Illinois State College, Chicago State College, Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville, and several of the junior colleges, particularly certain branches of Chicago City College. Not all of the enumerated side effects of rapid growth were present at each of these institutions, however, nor are they likely to persist at some of the campuses for an extended period of time. Given the relatively slow development of Illinois higher education during the 1940s and 1950s, the board's and state's efforts in the '60s to expand rapidly, equalize educational opportunities, and maintain quality must on the whole be regarded as successful.

Other unresolved problems have accrued from the past. Illinois is one of the wealthiest states in the nation and has considerable untapped resources which will be needed during the 1970s to continue the developments begun in the '60s. In order to meet the anticipated enrollment expansion of the next 12 years, new collegiate facilities will be required that are equivalent to all of those now in use by all of the state's institutions of higher learning, both public and private. Thus the state faces a difficult policy decision about whether to maintain or increase the level of support for higher education. Such a challenge comes at a time when several legislators are questioning the growing costs of higher education. It will be remembered that the legislature in the past session increased the professional staff of the Budgetary Commission so that it could assess the state budget more carefully. Public higher education will therefore be asked to justify and evaluate its own programs to assure that the taxpayers are receiving the highest level of quality education for their tax dollars.

Still another unresolved problem concerns the ability of higher education to meet the needs of the disadvantaged student and the problems of the inner-city. These matters were given limited attention in statewide planning. During the 1969-71 biennium, the senior institutions submitted budget requests for experimental projects" dealing with disadvantaged youth. The requested funds amounted to over $7 million. With the prospects of increased federal aid, and with the development of colleges and universities specifically designed to study the problems of the urban environment, the coming decade should provide opportunities for overcoming this deficiency.

The question of governance in the public segments presented the state with its most complex and persistent problem. The current solution, a system of systems design, implicitly recognizes the necessity for balancing the educational power positions of the competing public segments in such a way that the overall network serves the public interest. If this structure, however, creates more uncertainty and intensifies the struggle for jurisdictional rights among the five public segments (as in the new institutions controversy), then the system of systems framework may not improve the effectiveness of the educational enterprise.

Closely related to the question of control for educational power was the leadership provided at the statewide level. During the 1960s the governor, key legislators, the universities, and the chairman and executive director of the Board of Higher Education established an effective set of working relationships. Such leadership was able to mobilize the required political and financial support which launched Illinois higher education into a period of very rapid development. The 1968 elections provided the state with a Republican governor and a Republican General Assembly, and after seven years of service, the executive director of the board resigned and the board chairman stepped aside. A new cadre of leaders will therefore be guiding Illinois higher education into the decade of the 1970s.

VI

Higher Education in New York

Today the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York is responsible for educational planning at all levels--elementary, secondary, and higher education. The history of this board and its several responsibilities, including educational planning, is long and complex. The details can be found elsewhere (Abbott, 1958; Carmichael, 1955); for present purposes, only a few points need emphasis.

The Board of Regents

The Board of Regents is over 180 years old and the oldest continuous educational administrative body in the United States. Although initially created in 1784 to administer Kings College (later known as Columbia University), its function was broadened shortly thereafter to administer teachers colleges, technical institutes, the state library system, and the state museum. This pattern of direct control of public colleges and institutes continued until the creation of the State University of New York in 1948.

The initial composition of SUNY included the public colleges and institutes as well as the contract colleges at Cornell and

Syracuse. SUNY's establishment was especially important, since it signaled the beginning of a substantial commitment to public higher education. This development, relatively late compared with the midwestern and western states, was a reflection of the traditionally conservative posture of the Regents (and, more broadly, the northeastern states) toward centralized state control and public higher education.

Beginning in 1842, when the state legislature enacted a law creating a Board of Education to establish and maintain a system of free public elementary schools, the evolution of higher education in New York City has been relatively independent. Traditionally, a geo-political separation has existed between "upstate" and "downstate" New York, and this has been markedly apparent in the public higher education arena. The large number of immigrants from all over the world made it imperative that a public educational system be created to provide a common language and some basic skills for the multi-cultural and multi-lingual inhabitants.

Originally, the College of the City of New York and Hunter College were under the jurisdiction of the City Board of Education. In 1900 a separate board of trustees was established by the state legislature for the College of the City of New York. Fifteen years later a similar board was appointed for Hunter College.

In an effort to coordinate the evolution of these two institutions and to cope with the demand for additional campuses, the Board of Higher Education was established by the legislature in 1926. This new board has jurisdiction over all existing and future public institutions of higher education in New York City. The "College of the City of New York" was made the general name for all such institutions, but each unit continued to have a distinctive name of its own.

Between 1940 and 1960 all four campuses expanded their enrollments considerably. Because of the financial strain which the City College was putting on city revenues, the expansion was accomplished without a proportionate increase in the capital and operating budgets of the municipal college system. Few new academic facilities were constructed during this period and the annual operating budgets became increasingly inadequate in relation to the number of students served by the City College. Consequently, the Board of Higher Education increasingly looked toward alternative sources of income, particularly to the state government. As various state-aid programs were inaugurated to support City College, the long-time independence of New York City's public higher education system began to diminish. Therefore, by 1960, when the Heald Committee was appointed, the role of City College in the statewide system of higher education was an important issue. New York City's system of higher education has become a central concern of the state government and of the master plans of the Board of Regents.

MAJOR STATEWIDE PLANNING ACTIVITIES

Since 1960, a number of statewide plans, laws, and studies have been integral to educational planning in New York State, and have had long-range effects in higher education.

The Heald Committee Report, 1960

The piecemeal implementation of solutions offered by planning efforts prior to 1960 failed to provide a comprehensive program that would rectify the neglect of the past and cope with the demands of the future.

In 1959, therefore, New York's newly elected governor announced that the Commissioner of Education would undertake a comprehensive study of the needs and financial requirements of all levels of education in the State of New York. When the Board of Regents proved unwilling to make the fundamental decisions necessary to break the stalemate between public and private higher education, a body capable of independent thought and action was created to deal with these problems.

In December 1959, Governor Rockefeller appointed a special Committee on Higher Education (1960):

> . . .to recommend steps which the state can take: 1) to assure educational opportunities to those qualified for college study; 2) to provide the undergraduate, graduate, and professional training and research facilities necessary for the continued development of the state as a leading business, industrial,

> scientific, and cultural center; and 3) to contribute its proper share of trained personnel to meet the nation's need for education, health and welfare services [p. iii].

Because of time limitations and the wealth of data already available, the special committee relied for its facts primarily upon previous studies. A list of 40 problem areas was prepared and the services of expert consultants in each area were asked to recommend the policies which should be adopted by the state in order to resolve each problem. The committee also met with representatives of the State University, the New York City public colleges, the private colleges and universities, the State Education Department, and legislative and executive leaders of the state government.

In its final report, the Heald committee (1960) concluded that the machinery for control and operation of higher education in New York State as it existed in 1960 was not adequate to cope with the present and future demands on the system. Its basic recommendation was, therefore, that the whole structure be streamlined through a realignment of responsibilities, accomplished by: 1) strengthening the overall coordinating role of the Board of Regents; 2) removing restrictions on the functions of the State University so that it would bear the primary responsibility of meeting the state's higher educational needs and removing procedural and administrative restrictions imposed on the State University by various state government agencies; 3) linking of the New York City public colleges with the State University system; 4) creating strong local boards to control the operations of the public college units; 5) establishing a council of higher education advisors to study overall higher educational problems and to formulate policies; and 6) providing limited state financial assistance to private institutions.

The Master Planning Law of 1961

Some description of a unique aspect of New York's system--legislatively mandated quadrennial statewide master planning--is necessary to an understanding of the subsequent history of statewide planning in New York.

One of the recommendations of the Heald Report had been that the overall coordinating role of the Board of Regents be strengthened, and shortly thereafter the Regents passed a resolution strongly endorsing this recommendation as a general principle. Their statement made it clear, however, that they did not conceive of their coordinating role as a broad and general function, but as the specific task of compiling segment master plans.

In April 1961, the planning law was passed by the legislature and signed by the governor. According to this law the master plans of both the state and city universities must include: 1) plans for new curricula and new facilities; 2) plans for changes in policies with respect to student admissions and potential student enrollments; and 3) comments upon their relationship to other colleges and universities, public and private, within the state. As will become evident, the master planning law changed the role of the Board of Regents in fulfilling their statewide planning function.

The Wells Committee Report, 1964

Since the master planning law mandated a continuous process of statewide planning to be conducted by the higher education agencies in the state, it might be assumed that New York had escaped from the situation found in most states, in which planning is a periodic, crisis-oriented activity initiated by the governor or the legislature. This generally has been the case, with two significant exceptions: The 1964 Wells Committee Report and the 1968 Bundy Committee Report.

The most fundamental recent changes in New York's system of higher education had been stimulated by the governor's appointment in 1947 of the Temporary Commission on the Need for a State University and the creation of the Heald Committee. Consequently, by the early 1960s the legislature was becoming quite concerned about its role in higher educational policy-making. Furthermore, the legislature, which had traditionally been very sympathetic to private higher education, was alarmed by the governor's ambitious proposals for public higher education. They were also concerned about the long-term financial demands which this expansion would entail. As a result, in 1963 the legislature appointed Herman Wells and his associates at the Academy for Educational Development (1964) as Legislative Consultants on Higher Education to examine the activities of the State University of New York, study its Master Plan, and make recommendations for improving the university and higher education generally in New York State. Apparently the primary focus on the state university resulted from the fact that the bulk of the state's future appropriation to higher education would be given to SUNY. In addition, the governor had thus far been accorded most of the political credit for the development of the state university system, while the legislature had played a quiet, but supportive, role. The strong public support for the state university, however, made many legislators eager to reap the political benefits of championing the further development of public higher education.

The Wells Committee Report (1964) largely reaffirmed some of the major proposals of the Heald Committee Report which had not yet been implemented. Its important recommendations centered around strengthening the state university. More specifically, it advised the legislature to support the existing and planned graduate and research centers so that the quality of graduate education could be significantly improved, and recommended a series of changes designed to free the state university from the governmental controls which were hampering its development.

The Regents' Plan, 1964

The first statewide master plan produced in accordance with the 1961 master planning law was submitted to the governor and the legislature in 1964. As the Commissioner of Education, James Allen, pointed out in the Foreword, the 1964 Regents Master Plan represented the most intensive and extensive planning effort for higher education in the history of the state. For an initial effort this plan was relatively comprehensive and sophisticated.

According to the planning law, the Regents' plan was to be, basically, a compilation of the diverse plans of the public and private institutions. The new law did not clearly specify whether or not the Regents were to go beyond such compilation and define the overall statewide goals for higher education. However, in the introduction to their first master plan, the Regents (1964), clearly indicated that they interpreted the intent of the law to be that they should play the role of the overall planning agency for higher education. They pointed out that:

> ...The legislation of 1961 requires the Regents not only to review the long-range plans of State University and of City University, but upon approval, to incorporate them into a Regents Plan...A simple compilation of their proposals...would not produce a comprehensive, long-range, statewide Regents Plan envisioned by the legislation of

> 1961...Therefore...proposals originating with the Regents are advanced to supplement those received from the institutions and to deal with certain broad problems and areas of special concern which become apparent in planning to meet the needs of the State as a whole [pp. 1-2].

Thus, their first plan included a review of the statewide needs in higher education and set some broad statewide goals for education beyond the high school. Instead of merely incorporating the entire state university and city university plans, the Regents summarized and critically evaluated the major proposals from these plans. Since fewer than 20 private institutions had developed comprehensive plans, the Regents were severely hampered in coordinating and integrating the long-range development of the private and public institutions. Therefore, they concluded that:

> ...Because of the lack of planning and the failure to make critical decisions on the precise nature of the role they expect to play, it is impossible to present a State summary of the plans of privately controlled institutions in any great detail [p. 42].

To help resolve this problem in the future, the Regents recommended that the State Education Department expand its efforts to encourage and assist the planning activities in the private institutions.

In addition to the review and approval of the segment master plans, the Regents' made 63 independent recommendations for the "long-range and broad strengthening of higher education in New York." These ranged from broad policies such as statewide enrollment goals for 1970 to specific proposals regarding programs and policies in each of the segments.

Despite some of its shortcomings, this plan was a significant improvement over past efforts of the board and signified the beginning of a new era of continuous statewide planning for higher education in New York State. The Regents went beyond their assigned function of providing a clearinghouse for segmental plans and attempted to formulate basic statewide policies.

The Bundy Committee Report, 1968

By the mid-1960s, the private colleges and universities were becoming increasingly concerned about their future role in the state. The governor and the Regents responded to pressure from ACUSNY and some of the more prestigious private universities by establishing a special commission in 1967 to investigate this problem. There were two major factors which led to this development. On the one hand, the mushrooming costs of higher education had made the traditional sources of revenue for private institutions increasingly inadequate. On the other hand, the private colleges and universities in New York State were particularly sensitive to this crisis because of the rapid expansion of the public sector during the '60s.

Responding to the fears of some of the private institutions, in the spring of 1967 the governor and the Board of Regents established the Select Committee on the Future of Private and Independent Higher Education in New York State. This committee, generally referred to as the Bundy Committee, was asked to advise "how the state can help preserve the strength and vitality of our private and independent institutions of higher education, yet at the same time keep them free." The committee's task, in short, was to suggest a formula by which the state could provide the needed financial assistance to private institutions while at the same time protecting their institutional independence.

Assessing the seriousness of the financial crisis faced by private higher education, the committee concluded that the financial needs of these institutions are "real and important but in most cases not desperate." The Select Committee (1968) made four recommendations: that New York State give direct assistance to private colleges and universities; that the State Constitution be amended to conform to the federal model for direct assistance to denominational institutions; that the existing responsibilities of the Regents be reconfirmed and reinforced; and that both the private institutions and Regents improve their information base upon which statewide educational decisions are based.

The Regents' Plan, 1968

The second major statewide plan of the Board of Regents subsequent to the legal mandate for quadrennial planning was the 1968 Master Plan (University of the State of New York, 1968). In this document the Regents broadened their scope somewhat. In the Foreword, it was pointed out that the Regents were guided by the following major objectives:

> ...the provision of places for ever increasing numbers; the provision of the variety of opportunities necessary to honor the commitment to the development of individual potential; and the provision of high standards that will insure quality in all programs and institutions [p. iii].

In terms of substantive recommendations, the Regents identified ten priority concerns: financing higher education, manpower needs, higher education opportunity, teaching, interinstitutional cooperation, continuing education, college and university governance, two-year colleges, libraries, and innovation.

CONTEMPORARY STRUCTURE

State Government

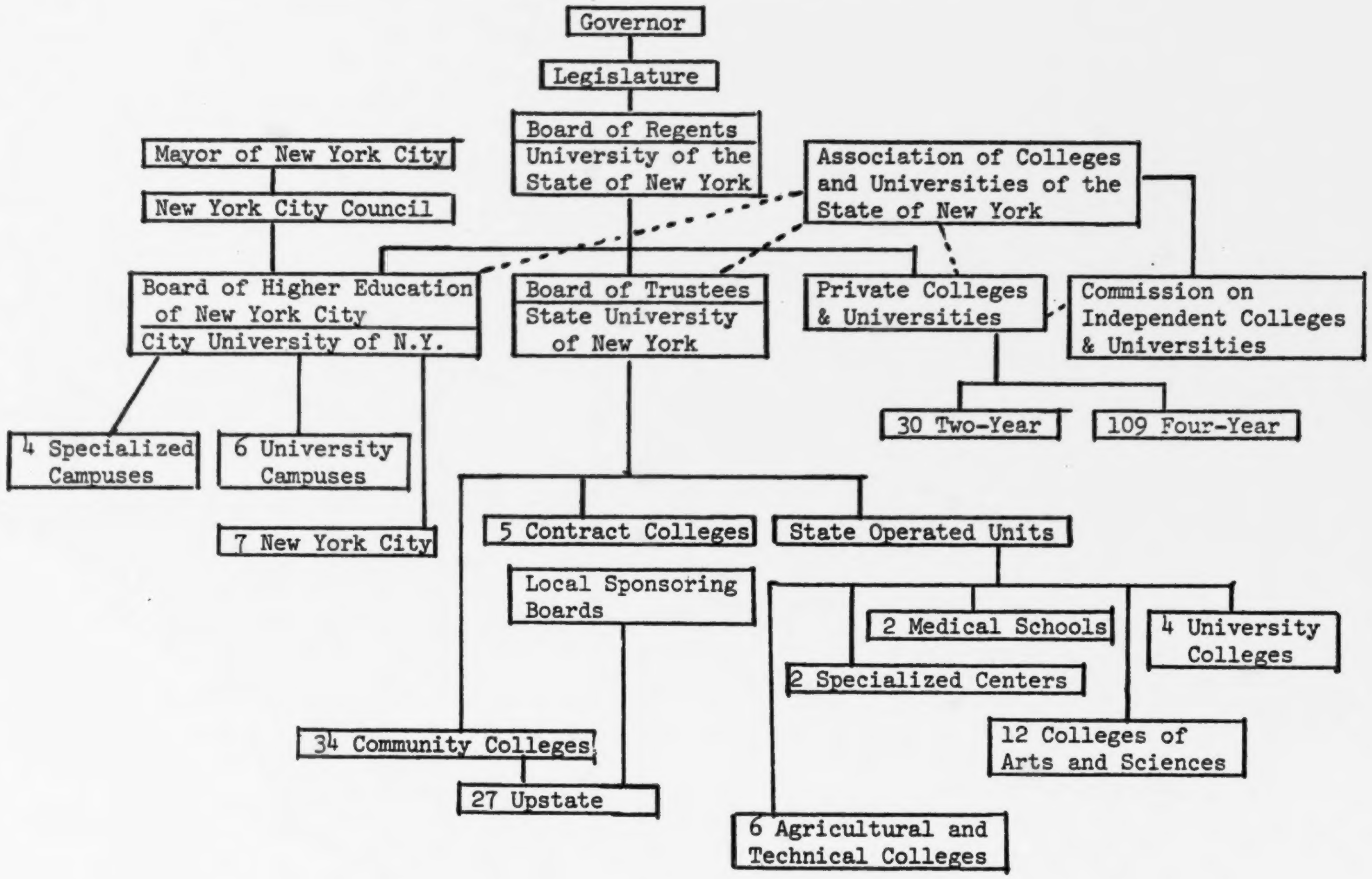
The relatively complex organizational structure of higher education in New York is depicted in Chart 4. At the statewide level there are two agencies of the executive branch of the state government which are directly involved in higher education matters in addition to the governor and legislature, namely, the Division of the Budget and the Dormitory Authority. The actual roles played by officials from these agencies will be discussed in some detail in the section on resource allocation.

The Board of Regents

The Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York is the policy-making body for all education in the state from

CHART 4

CONTEMPORARY STRUCTURE OF NEW YORK HIGHER EDUCATION


Governor
Legislature
Board of Regents
University of the State of New York
Mayor of New York City
New York City Council
Association of Colleges and Universities of the State of New York
Board of Higher Education of New York City
City University of N.Y.
Board of Trustees
State University of New York
Private Colleges & Universities
Commission on Independent Colleges & Universities
4 Specialized Campuses
6 University Campuses
7 New York City
30 Two-Year
109 Four-Year
5 Contract Colleges
State Operated Units
Local Sponsoring Boards
2 Medical Schools
4 University Colleges
2 Specialized Centers
12 Colleges of Arts and Sciences
34 Community Colleges
27 Upstate
6 Agricultural and Technical Colleges

pre-kindergarten to graduate education. The membership of the board consists of 15 laymen, elected by the legislature for a term of 15 years. Their overlapping terms are the result of one appointment being made each year. The major policy decisions of the Regents vis-a-vis higher education are embodied in the quadrennial statewide master plans which are revised and updated annually. Regential decisions are implemented by the Commissioner of Education and his staff in the State Education Department.

The Regents do not play a direct role in the annual budgetary process, but the master plan contains long-range financial projections for each segment of higher education. The Regents have been empowered, through the State Education Department staff, to administer several federal aid programs for higher education.

Board of Trustees

The "State University Law" passed by the legislature in 1948 specified that the State University was to be governed and all its corporate powers exercised by a Board of Trustees. This board is composed of 15 members who are appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the Senate for ten-year terms. All public institutions of higher education outside New York City fall under the jurisdiction of the trustees. The campuses include university centers, colleges of arts and sciences, medical centers, and agricultural and technical colleges. The trustees share authority over five contract colleges with the private institutions where they are located, and administer the community colleges jointly with the local district boards. The trustees are required by law to submit quadrennial master plans and annual revisions to the Board of Regents for review and approval.

New York City Board of Higher Education

The City University of New York was created in 1961 by a legislative act which brought together into a single university the seven municipal colleges under the jurisdiction of the New York City Board of Higher Education. The board is also the local sponsor for the community colleges located within New York City. The twenty-two member board is appointed by the Mayor of New York City for nine-year terms and is usually representative of the five boroughs of the city. The president of the city's Board of Education is an ex-officio member of the board. In addition to forming general policy and administering the city campuses, the board is required by law to submit quadrennial master plans and annual revisions to the Board of Regents for review and approval.

The Commission on Independent Colleges and Universities

The majority of the institutions in the private sector are members of the commission. The avowed purpose of this organization is to "study, discuss, and represent before appropriate authorities the special problems, interests, and responsibilities of the private institutions within the total framework of higher education in New York State." With the recent rapid growth of public higher education in New York state, the commission has become an increasingly important defender of the interests of private colleges and universities.

CRITICAL DECISIONS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Analysis of the critical decisions regarding higher education which have been made at the segmental and statewide levels will focus on the three areas of decision-making introduced in the theoretical chapter—goals, integration, and resource allocation. Each of these areas will be discussed in some depth in order to assess the impact of statewide and segmental decisions on the educational autonomy of various types of institutions.

Goals

Throughout most of its long history the Board of Regents, which is legally the statewide goal-defining agency in New York State, played a conservative role in the development of higher education. During this period the Regents made no formal attempts to define a set of statewide goals for higher education; implicitly they maintained a laissez-faire philosophy which relied on the large number of fairly high quality private institutions to satisfy the higher educational needs of the state.

Accepting some direct responsibility for the development of the system in only three minor areas, the Regents: 1) attempted to use their powers of institutional accreditation and program approval in order to maintain and increase the quality of the offerings in private institutions; 2) endeavored to provide some state financial assistance through scholarship programs in order to sustain the financial viability of the private institutions; and 3) formulated the basic policies, while the State Education Department staff maintained some administrative control over the state teachers colleges, the contract colleges, and a variety of state-supported technical institutes. During this period the major efforts of the board were focused on the development of the rapidly expanding public systems of primary and secondary schools.

The extensive system of private colleges and universities served New York's higher education needs fairly well for many years. The necessity for a state university and for a more direct regential role in higher education policy-making was, consequently, less pronounced than in many other states. However, the enrollment expansion in the post World War II era and the increasing public concern over racial and ethnic discrimination called for a dramatic departure from traditional practices. When the Regents failed to respond in a significant way to these new educational pressures, in 1947 the governor and the legislature established the Temporary Commission on the Need for a State University to examine the need for a state university, including professional and graduate schools.

The commission, however, clearly interpreted its responsibility in a much broader sense, stating that its concern was for the needs for all forms of higher education. . . not only for the immediate future, but for the next two or three decades. The commission's conception of its function as that of defining the long-term statewide needs for higher education was the first significant effort in this direction in New York State.

The commission's name itself implied that its primary task was to recommend the development of a state university. Its major decisions, then, were concerned with the type and extensiveness of the institution to be proposed. Given the strong resistance from many quarters to development of any type of public institution, the commission's recommendations were surprisingly inclusive. The general conclusion of their report (State of New York, 1948) was that "the conditions of the times require a broadening of the public provisions for higher education on all fronts." The state university they proposed was to consist of:

> ...Widely distributed and greatly expanded facilities throughout the state...the establishment of full four-year college programs in certain sections of the state not adequately served by any university or college... establishment of two medical centers by the state...state aid for teacher education in the four municipal colleges of New York City...(and) establishment with state aid of locally administered public community colleges [pp. 17-18].

Though these recommendations called for a considerable expansion of state responsibility for providing higher education, they limited the development of the state university in three important ways. The most fundamental of these limitations was the general conception, adhered to in the 1950s, that the state university's role would be "to supplement and strengthen the work of existing institutions." Another limitation was the decentralized structure recommended for the state universities, with control transferred from the State Education Department to the Baord of Trustees. The campuses' autonomy from the Board of Trustees, coupled with the extensive administrative restrictions of a variety of state agencies, virtually guaranteed stagnation for the state university, particularly since the governor was unwilling to give adequate financial support to the new system. And a third important limitation resulted from the ruling that graduate programs were not to be offered (except possibly on one campus), since a university can only recruit quality faculty and students and attract the research support which is the financial backbone of most major universities if it offers post baccalaureate programs. During the 1950s, therefore, New York depended on its private institutions to provide almost all graduate and professional programs.

The Inactive Fifties

In terms of the formulation of statewide goals, the 1950s was a period of quiescence. The role of the Board of Regents was unclear during this period, since it had very little control over the development of the state university. Formally, the state university was part of the University of the State of New York,

TABLE 11

Past and Projected Student Enrollments in New York Higher Education Institutions

Year	CUNY	SUNY	Public	Private	Total
1948					
1949					
1950				170,000	
1951					
1952					
1953					
1954		28,741			
1955				223,000	
1956	78,425				
1957	81,424				
1958	84,684				
1959	87,615	42,126		247,000	
1960	91,430	47,654			
1961	97,984	53,257	151,241	220,198	371,439
1962	103,728	68,019	171,747	207,676	379,423
1963	111,793	76,510	188,303	218,395	406,698
1964	130,699	92,226	222,925	232,651	455,576
1965	139,845	107,794	247,639	246,347	493,986
1966	142,635	119,074	261,709	266,770	528,479
1967	152,776	138,933		209,500	
1971	203,500	209,065	412,565	233,290	645,855
1975	258,800	290,400	549,200	260,300	809,500

Sources

CUNY, 1956-61: Board of Higher Education, *A long range plan for the City of New York*, 1962 (figures by head count).

CUNY, 1962-67; 1971, 1975 (projections) Board of Higher Education, *Master plan of the Board of Higher Education for the City University of New York*, New York, 1968 (figures by head-count).

SUNY, 1954: State University of New York, *Crucial questions about higher education*, Albany, 1955 (figures by full-time enrollment).

SUNY, 1959-1964: State University of New York. *The Master Plan*, New York, Revised 1964 (figures by full-time enrollment).

SUNY, 1965-1966: State University of New York, Office of Institutional Research, 1962-66 (Table); April 1967; "students enrolled for 12 or more credits."

SUNY, 1967; 1971, 1975 (projections): State University of New York, *Development Document of 1968*, New York, 1968 (by full-time enrollment).

Private Institutions, 1950, 1955, 1959: Committee on Higher Education, *Meeting the increasing demand for higher education*, New York, 1960 (no criteria given for figures).

Private Institutions, 1961-66; 1967, 1971, 1975 (projections) Select Committee on the Future of Private and Independent Higher Education in New York State. *New York State and private higher education*, 1968 (from tables on part-time and full-time undergraduate enrollments; 1967, 1970, 1975 projections for full-time enrollment).

but the actual powers which this inclusion implied for the Regents had not been clearly specified in the state university law. The Regents could not, therefore, act as a statewide planning or coordinating agency or define a set of statewide goals.

The state university was unable to venture into any new educational areas since it was considered a supplement to the private colleges and universities and its expansion was still restricted by the fiscal and administrative restrictions of the governor and various state agencies. While a few new programs were added, enrollment expansion increased slightly, and a small number of community colleges were established, there were no fundamental changes in the statewide higher education network.

Meanwhile, the demand for collegiate education swelled at an unprecedented rate (Table 11), the major portion now coming from the middle classes and to a lesser extent from the lower classes. Since these potential students could ill afford the high tuition charges of the private institutions, the Board of Regents and the Trustees of the State University conducted several enrollment projection studies in 1957 and 1958. Although there were differences of degree in the findings, they all forecast increasing enrollment pressures and decreasing institutional capacity to cope with them. At the time, however, no viable long-range solutions were offered.

The Launching of Public Higher Education

With enrollments expected to double by 1970 and triple by

1985. New York made its first major effort to define its higher education goals by appointing the Committee on Higher Education (the Heald Committee). The Heald Report (1960) concluded that New York's first priority must be to expand the enrollment capacity of the system as rapidly as possible, but that quantitative expansion could not be the sole statewide goal:

> ...It will not be enough...if our colleges and universities meet the potential increases in enrollments merely by doing on a larger scale what they have already been doing for many years in their classrooms and laboratories. They will have to do it better than ever before, much better —enough better to meet the fantastic demands the future may be expected to impose on the American people [p. 8].

The Regents' Initial Master Plan, 1964

In the master plan of 1964, two main statewide goals dominated the Regents' attention: the expansion of the capacity of the educational system and satisfaction of the educational needs of the "economy and of society." This traditional manpower approach to educational planning involved the use of the New York State Department of Labor statistics to project occupational trends. Based on this analysis, the Board of Regents' (1964a) self-evident conclusion was that: "The kinds of occupations which will experience the most rapid expansion are those in the professional, higher level managerial and technical areas." Some effort was made to go beyond these general categories and specify the particular type of personnel that would be needed, so as to predict the number of degrees that could be expected to be granted in each field. But no [illegible] plans were proposed to make up for imbalances between projected supply and demand.

One shortcoming of the approach taken in the 1964 Master Plan was the failure to recognize that under conditions of a high degree of geographic mobility, a state cannot be analyzed as if it constituted a closed occupational system. For this reason, among others, the validity of the manpower approach used by the Regents and most other statewide planning agencies has limited usefulness.

Expanded Conceptions of Regential Statewide Goals

In 1965, 1966, and 1967 the Regents published interim revisions of the 1964 Master Plan from which one new theme emerged. The goal of providing increased educational opportunity for the disadvantaged was given special attention in the Regents' 1966 Progress Report when the State Education Department was commissioned to "develop a comprehensive plan with regard to postsecondary educational experiences for the disadvantaged". Subsequently, the commitment to this goal was reaffirmed in the 1967 report and in the 1968 Master Plan.

The 1968 plan also addressed itself with renewed emphasis to issues related to continuing education in the colleges. The segments were advised 1) to formulate programs that would help professional and managerial personnel to keep abreast of new knowledge in their fields, 2) to provide retraining programs for adults whose skills had been rendered obsolescent by technology, and 3) to offer courses designed to help adults to adapt to the current rapid social changes.

Another area that received considerable attention was interinstitutional cooperation. Acting on a recommentation of the Bundy Committee (1968), the Regents requested a planning grant to be used to:

> ...prepare and release to all colleges and universities a set of guidelines which would be followed in applying for grants to support proposals offering major prospects for improved education or substantial economies through collective action [p. 11].

This effort could indicate a considerable expansion of the Regents' role in fostering cooperative arrangements between the segments.

The third and most significant new theme the Regents developed was the necessity for innovation. The board called upon all institutions to respond with creative academic planning to the challenges raised by rapid change in developing their academic plans.

The Board of Regents as a Goal-Defining Agency

The Board of Regents and the State Education Department have been criticized periodically for the inadequacy of their efforts to define statewide goals and for their lack of success in coordinating the three segments of higher education. At the 1967 Constitutional Convention, a staff consultant summarized the general feeling of the delegates as follows:

> The biggest shortcoming of regential master planning is the fact that it does not rely on a general philosophical base. All they do is collect a bunch of data. They never ask the basic educational questions.

The Bundy Committee (1968) echoed this opinion when it stated:

> While the Regents possess fully adequate authority to plan and coordinate higher education in the state, public and private, this existing authority is not vigorously exercised [p. 36].

One reason cited in the Bundy Report and elsewhere for the Regents' lack of leadership in the master planning process is that historically the Regents have centered their attention primarily on the time-consuming task of administering the state system of primary and secondary schools. Consequently, their role vis-a-vis higher education has received secondary consideration.

Another explanation for the Regents' failure has been that the State Education Department, traditionally concerned mainly with accrediting institutions and approving new programs, has given the Regents inadequate support. A solution to this problem recommended in the Heald Report (1960) was that the master planning staff be separated from the organizational units responsible for the approval of curricula, chartering of institutions, professional licensing, and the other regulatory activities of the Education Department.

The State University of New York (SUNY)

During the 1950s there were few fundamental changes in the role of State University. The only expansion consisted of the development of two medical schools and the cretion of one liberal arts college. Further expansion was restricted since the university was still considered a supplement to the private institutions.

However, when New York was hit by the enrollment pressure resulting from the post World War II population boom and the demand for scientists and technicians which Sputnik stimulated, the stage was set for State University to become a comprehensive university system.

The 1960 Heald Report provided the major breakthrough. The acceptance by the Regents and the state government of the expanded functions called for by the report not only ended SUNY's supplementary role, but provided the impetus for the development of a comprehensive public higher education system in New York state.

From 1960-64 SUNY lay the basic foundation for a university system: The teachers' colleges were gradually transformed into liberal arts colleges, with some masters degree programs added; the University Centers were expanded to include masters and doctoral programs and research activities; and the community colleges evolved into dual-purpose institutions, offering vocational-technical curricula and liberal arts transfer programs.

The 1964 Master Plan marked the beginning of a formal commitment by the state university to the formulation of university-wide goals, although no actual attempt to stipulate such broad purposes was made until the 1968 Master Plan. In preparation for this task the central office attempted to involve campus administrators, faculty, and students in planning activities, and also to decentralize planning by granting more responsibility to the campuses.

This change was generally regarded with enthusiasm, as indicated by a respondent:

> Now the initiative is where it ought to be--at the local campus. Each campus has been granted a general mission by the central office, but what we do with it depends largely on the local initiative of the faculty and administration. Formerly, the central office both proposed and imposed plans and policies. Now the campus proposes and the central administration disposes, i.e., aids the campus in getting the necessary facilities, monetary support, and faculty.

Others, however, have maintained that decentralization hasn't been carried very far yet and that proposals initiated at the campus level still have to survive a series of procedural roadblocks in the central office before they can be implemented.

The 1968 Master Plan (Board of Trustees, 1968b) focused on general segment-wide issues in contrast to the detailed review of campus programs which characterized previous plans. The most recent state university plan is more abstract and goal-oriented. Both short-range goals (priorities of growth) and long-range goals (priorities of change) are considered.

> The first emphasis in this report is placed upon the priorities of growth to extend the goals of unity, identity and excellence set forth in the Master Plan of 1964. The priorities of growth specify the nature, quality and scope of work remaining to be completed on missions already formulated.

> The priorities of change have taken form from swiftly changing human values and behavior as well as alterations in man's physical environment. Some, such as the rising aspirations of our disadvantaged population or the impacts of science and technology upon society, are already clear. Others are still shadowy possibilities.
>
> Priorities of change guarantee continuous renewal of the University. They assure new relationships between the institution and the society it serves; they encourage adaptiveness in teaching and research; they combine scholarships with social concern to the end that students may easily see their future role of leadership and responsibility [p. iii].

Regionalism Discarded

One of the most important issues from 1964-67 involved the attempt to reorganize SUNY on a regional basis, with each region containing one university center, several colleges of arts and science, and any community colleges located in the geographical area. This plan was strongly resisted by the campuses and by the administrators and faculty of the colleges of arts and sciences. In discussing the failure and ultimate abandonment of regional reorganization one campus administrator commented:

> It did not work because of the nationalim and empire building of each campus. They fered this would rigidify the system and lead to stricter controls.

The Four-Year Colleges: Status Problems

Some problems have also arisen over whic of the four-year institutions were to become university centers, and which were to become colleges of arts and science. The trustes and the central office designated as university centers two formerly private institutions (Buffalo and Binghamton), one completely new campus (Stonybrook), and one former state teachers' college (Albany). The remaining teachers' colleges became colleges of arts and science. The university centers were allowed to develop a broad spectrum of doctoral programs and to establish professional schools, while the colleges of arts and science were only authorized to confer masters degrees and were prohibited from establishing professional schools.

Some faculty and administrators at more ambitious colleges of arts and science regarded this differentiation as relegating their institutions to a second-class status. They maintained that the university centers had been given a disproportionate amount of both operating and capital funds and that, therefore, the colleges of arts and science had insufficient support to develop their limited functions. Also particularly resented was the limitation on research activities at these institutions. As expressed by an administrator at one of the colleges of arts and science:

> The main mistake made by the central office was the rigid separation into university centers and state colleges. This has led to a caste system. The basic problem is not with the philosophy behind this move but its implementation. In other words, the differentiation was premature and too rigid. For example, the Ph.D. was established at the Buffalo University Center when Buffalo State College already had a fine undergraduate program which could have been added to. Another instance is that despite the fact that one-third of the lawyers in the state are in the Rochester area,

> Brockport can't add a law school because these programs are limited to university centers. Since the University of Rochester has decided not to develop a law school, this area will have to continue to import lawyers from other regions. The differentiation is also carried to ridiculous heights in terms of level and support; the university centers even get more maintenance personnel than the state colleges.

Now that the university centers have made significant progress in expanding the comprehensiveness and quality of their programs, it can be expected that more attention will be given to developing the curricula and facilities of the colleges of arts and science. But as long as the comprehensive university remains the predominant institutional model in higher education, state colleges will inevitably feel the tinge of being only second best in the pecking order of higher education.

The Contract Colleges--An Enigma

An area of tension in the state university which is not likely to be resolved in the near future is a consequence of the unique historical antecedents of public higher education in New York state. The Morrill Land Grant Act was used in New York to create contract colleges which were subsequently financed by the state but located at and administered by private institutions. This unique blend of public and private higher education has survived to the present, but the relationship between these six colleges and the state university has been under constant study since the middle '60s. The 1964 Master Plan (Board of Trustees, 1964) stated:

> The Trustees intend to undertake a review of the purposes and functioning of the Contract Colleges. An important part of the review will be an examination of the original purposes of these colleges and an assessment of the continuing validity of such purposes in the light of changing conditions [p. 19].

In the 1968 Master Plan of the State University it was mentioned that this topic is being subjected to renewed study. The problem centers around the lack of a clearly defined distribution of authority over these colleges. The degree of control by the trustees and the central office in regard to admissions practices, instructional and research programs, staffing, organization, and budgets at the contract colleges is not clearly delineated. Consequently, the future of these unique institutions is somewhat uncertain at this point.

University Centers--Comprehensiveness versus Specialization

A final area of conflict involving the definition of institutional goals within state university centers was focused on the effort to develop special academic emphases at each center. The 1960 Master Plan called for Stonybrook to focus mainly on engineering, mathematics, and the natural sciences, for Albany to focus on the social sciences, for Binghamton to restrict its development primarily to the humanities, and for Buffalo to develop into the only comprehensive campus. Though all university centers would still be allowed to offer the full spectrum of doctoral programs each one would concentrate the greatest part of its effort on its assigned area of specialization.

As might be expected, the campuses strongly resisted this attempt to limit their mission. Some of the explanations for the opposition of the faculty and administrators at the university centers are indicated in the following excerpts from interviews:

> I always thought that the original concept that each center have a primary emphasis was naive. Obviously we can't reproduce the most expensive programs on every campus. But we shouldn't be limited to the extent that the central office originally proposed. The type of differentiation now pushed by the central office is according to emphases within disciplines. For example, we can't do a good job in every area of physics, so we will build up certain specialties unique to this campus. But the question will always be how far differentiation can be pushed. If this concept is followed, the centers will be indistinguishable in general purposes but different from each other by specialities within disciplines.

> There has been some effort through planning to achieve some differences between the university centers, but it has not really had much effect. At one point there was an effort to divide up area studies among the university centers, but vested interests impeded this. For example, if a department is looking for a top notch anthropologist, they don't care whether his speciality is consistent with their area studies program or that of some other campus. Thus, recruitment subverts efforts toward planned differentiation.

The policy expounded in the most recent master plan (Board of Trustees, 1968b) signifies that planned differentiation of the university centers has been abandoned:

> Designed as universities in their own right, with the privilege and obligation to offer work toward the most advanced degrees, the university centers are attracting national and international attention among scholars.

> They offer *the full range of opportunities* in higher education, including the liberal arts and sciences, the arts, professional programs in appropriate fields, organized research institutes or centers, and related public service programs. The Trustees re-emphasize their mission of comprehensiveness.
> 1968 [p. 27].

Apparently the trustees have decided that the strong campus resistance to this policy plus the current demand for graduate education justifies comprehensive development at all four university centers.

The City University of New York (CUNY)

Though New York City introduced free public higher education into New York State at an early date (1847), its campuses remained fairly small and limited in terms of their educational functions for over 100 years. Up until 1920 the municipal college system concentrated primarily on teacher education, with some baccalaureate liberal arts programs also offered. In 1920 the first graduate program leading to the master's degree was instituted. Subsequently, a variety of other master's degree programs were introduced.

An Elitist Organization. While New York City could boast of having the only free public higher education in the state, the senior colleges maintained so highly selective an admissions policy that by 1960 only 20 percent of the New York City high school graduates were eligible for admission to the municipal college system.

There were several factors which perpetuated the elitist character of the City College. The most important was probably the limited funds allocated to the colleges by the city government. Until 1948, the city provided almost all of the monies for the support of the City College campuses, and its revenues were not adequate to support a large and comprehensive system of higher education. A further restriction on the efforts of the Board of Higher Education to expand the system resulted from the rigid fiscal and general administrative controls exercised by the city government and its various agencies. A third factor which limited the development of the City College system was the lack of staff support for the Board of Higher Education. It was not until the early 1960s that a chancellor was appointed for the system and the central office staff organized.

The Breakthrough. As with State University, the breakthrough occurred after some of the recommendations of the Heald Report were implemented during the 1960s.

In comparison with past planning reports, the Heald Committee's approach to the New York City system was revolutionary. Previous studies had generally viewed the institutions of higher education in the city as an autonomous entity. The Heald Committee, however, treated the public colleges of New York City as an integral part of the statewide system.

The fiscal position of the City University was also jeopardized by a scholarship bill passed on March 20, 1961, which ended the prohibition of tuition charges in public institutions. The Trustees of the State University were required to charge tuition to amortize State University Construction Fund bonds. The Board of Higher Education was allowed discretion in this area, but the state restriction on tuition charges was lifted, leaving the door open to legislative pressure for the introduction of tuition charges whenever the City University requested additional state funds. Consequently, the provision of free (although elite) public higher education in New York City was endangered.

Toward a Comprehensive Municipal University. In 1964 the Board of Higher Education, in accordance with the planning law, made its first comprehensive attempt to define the goals of the City University. In line with efforts throughout New York State and the rest of the country, the board envisioned its primary task as quantitative expansion to accommodate the rapidly increasing enrollment pressures. The board recommended a 65 percent increase in enrollment between 1964 and 1968. Since the physical plants had been neglected to a great extent during the previous 30 years and few new buildings had been constructed at the senior colleges, the projected enrollment increases made a rapid expansion of the building program imperative, and the board proposed a $220 million capital budget for the ensuing four-year period.

The 1964 Master Plan (Board of Education, 1964) also covered some of the more qualitative issues. Recognizing that the rapid expansion they were proposing could endanger the traditionally high quality programs, particularly at the undergraduate level, the board established a policy that qualified faculty would be added to the instructional staff in proportion to enrollment increases so that existing student/faculty ratios could be maintained. They also suggested that:

> Part of the answer may lie in reform in curricular and academic management...Such reforms might lead to a redistribution in student contact hours through a different balance of very large and very small classes [p. 8].

Besides their commitment to the general goal of providing quality collegiate education, the board defined one of the substantive goals of the City University as that of contributing to the resolution of some of the multifarious urban problems which New York City was experiencing. They stated:

> Within a university which has the broad general goals set forth above, it is also possible and desirable for due concern to be given to the special needs and the special resources of the geographical area in which the institution is located. Thus the social, biological, and physical problems which beset a modern urban complex pose crucial intellectual questions, while our metropolis provides unparalleled opportunity for their empirical investigation. Such investigation, undertaken for the development of deeper theoretical understandings, will in most instances ultimately lead as well to practical and applicable solutions to the problems involved [p. 13].

This general policy statement in the 1964 Master Plan marked the beginning of an urban focus for the City University which was to be greatly amplified in subsequent plans.

The Urban University. In the last several years, many significant changes have occurred in the City University. A considerable number of doctoral programs have been established, many new facilities have been constructed, two new campuses have been opened, the state government has appropriated considerable funds to assist both the operating and capital budgets, significant strides have been made in upgrading the quality of the central staff and that of the campuses, and the city government has granted the board autonomy in several important areas.

When an organization is faced with substantial day-to-day problems, it can ill afford the commitment of its resources to long-range considerations. Having solved some of its most pressing problems by the mid-1960s, the City University was in a better position to seriously consider its long-term future. In the 1968 Master Plan (Board of Education, 1968a), a concerted effort in this direction was in fact made. The central theme in this document concerns the role of the City University in the urban setting. The board pointed out that:

> University planning must consider the improvement of the urban environment as one of the most exciting societal challenges of the final third of the twentieth century [p. 2].

The majority of the plan's proposals refer to the ways in which the City University can adapt its teaching, research, and public service functions to meet the needs of New York City. In terms of the teaching function, the board committed itself to implementing its 100 percent admissions policy by 1975. A broad spectrum of programs was being designed so that higher educational opportunity would be available to every high school graduate in New York City. This is a very ambitious and significant commitment in light of the fact that in 1960 the City University was only serving the top 20 percent of the city's high school graduates. In addition, the City University has established a variety of compensatory and remedial educational programs designed to qualify high school drop-outs for post high school education. CUNY has also expanded its teacher education programs and has set up special programs to prepare teachers for ghetto schools in an attempt to prepare for the compensatory education needs of the future.

Efforts were also made to orient some faculty research activities toward the urban crisis, and the board established an Office of Urban Studies to maintain a working liaison between municipal agencies and the various institutes and research projects throughout the university.

To fulfill its public service function, the City University decided to expand extension programs and cultural activities and reorient some of them toward urban needs. Plans in this area included: public service training programs; community-oriented programs such as improved police-community relations, manpower training, and lectures and conferences; extension service courses on such urban-related problems as mental hygiene, home economics, and child care; adult education and continuing education programs; and neighborhood arts centers.

The particular composition of the City University provides some advantages for planning. All of its campuses are located in a single large metropolitan area. By contrast, the State University of New York and most public segments in other states have institutions located in a variety of milieus, ranging from rural areas and small towns to medium and large citites. To the extent that a particular campus attempts to serve local needs, this heterogeneity forces segment-wide goals to be defined in relatively abstract terms. The City University of New York, on the other hand, can lend a much more specific focus to its university-wide goals.

Thus, one of the advantages of the City University is that the Central Office can provide a clearer sense of direction for the campuses at the same time that the broadness of the urban focus allows for campus initiative in choosing the particular problems to be tackled and the specific approaches to be used. Another beneficial aspect of the specificity of system-wide goals in the City University is the broad public commitment which it evokes. Thus, the emphasis on urban problems may serve an important political function for the City University.

Unresolved Issues. The most critical of the unresolved issues regarding the City University is whether there should be a single or a dual system of public higher education in New York State, i.e., whether the City University should become part of the State University. The Heald Report recommended increasing the interdependence of the two public systems, but their suggestion that State University representatives become members of the Board of Higher Education was successfully opposed by various New York City officials and interest groups. When the costly and ambitious proposals of the 1964 Master Plan led to a financial crisis in the City University in 1965, some efforts were again made to combine the two systems. The controversy was resolved by increasing state support without significantly altering the autonomy of the City University.

In general, the supporters of a dual public system base their position on the political, social, and economic differences between New York City and the remainder of the state. They contend that if the city's institutions are to contribute to the solution of local problems they must remain autonomous from the state government and the State University. Opponents point out that the increasing share of state monies supporting the City University require some type of state control over the use of these funds.

There are also several areas of conflict over goals for the campuses within the City University. An important one concerns the distribution of doctoral programs among the senior colleges.

At this early stage in the development of graduate programs, when all four campuses are expanding rapidly in many fields, no criteria have been established for developing special disciplinary emphases at each campus. The central staff is aware of this problem, however, and is currently working out procedures to avoid unnecessary proliferation.

The expansion of the City University's goals to include doctoral programs also created problems in relation to the traditional teacher training and undergraduate functions. Many of the faculty committed to these traditional emphases fear that these programs will be neglected while the greatest proportion of resources and the best faculty are used to build up doctoral programs. The detrimental effects are expected to be felt mostly in the undergraduate liberal arts programs, an area for which the city's colleges have been renowned for many years. Thus far the board has firmly maintained that, despite expansions in other areas, they will protect the high quality of undergraduate education. According to some observers, however, the quality has already been eroded in favor of the research and graduate student discipleship syndrome which pervades most modern universities.

At its new campuses the City University is experimenting with different approaches to quality undergraduate education. Richmond College, for example, was established as an upper-division institution emphasizing interdisciplinary study. Its objective is to use the two upper-division years to expand the interest and perspective of students rather than force them into narrow disciplinary specialization. York College, another new City University campus, has adopted a somewhat different strategy, which involves a unique combination of formal and informal learning experiences. The informal program or practicum includes individual and team research as well as field projects using the city as a social, cultural, and political laboratory.

Private Colleges and Universities

Until recently, the private institutions dominated the higher education scene in New York, their goal being to satisfy all the educational needs of the state. There was no statewide coordination of this effort, however, and the institutions naturally offered those types of educational programs required by the different social, political, and economic sectors. This laissez-faire philosophy of educational planning served New York fairly well throughout the 18th, 19th, and part of the 20th century. But as the industrial economy increased its demand for highly trained technicians, and the democratic traditions of our society created pressures for the universalization of higher education, the slow-changing, predominantly elitist, independent private institutions proved inadequate.

The Heald Committee Report in 1960 marked the beginning of a dramatic shift in the role of private higher education in New York

State. Henceforth State University was to develop into a comprehensive system and the private institutions were to play a supplementary role. With the primary attention of the state government directed toward the expansion of the public system, the long-range position of the private sector was neglected. From 1961-67 no statewide agency attempted to define the role of the private institutions or to specify limitations on the growth of State University. Consequently, many private college administrators began to fear that the very existence of private higher education was threatened.

When the Bundy Commission accepted as its primary task the delineation of the functions of private higher education, this constituted the first effort to define the goals of the private institutions since the state-supported colleges had become comprehensive, quality institutions.

The Bundy Commission (Select Committee, 1968) recommended that the state attempt to protect and support a balanced system of public and private institutions. They stated that:

> The first premise of this committee is that New York State must not now turn back from this great effort to build state and city universities second to none. Our study of the private institutions of the state has led us to believe that they have important needs which justify new kinds of state action. But we emphatically dissociate ourselves from those who see the growth of the state's public universities as an unjustified threat to the private sector. Our own premise is the opposite. It is that there is no inherent contradiction between the continued expansion of the public universities and a prudent attention to the reinforcement of the private institutions [p. 12].

The net effect of the Bundy Report was to reassert the importance of private colleges and universities and to protect their traditional independence while at the same time integrating them into the overall statewide system. They pointed out that the Board of Regents would have to play a leadership role through its function as the statewide planning agency if the delicate balance between public and private higher education was to be established and maintained in the future.

Integration at Several Levels

In a general sense, the process of planning itself tends to stimulate integration in a system. By informing the various participating organizations, and increasing communication between them, planning lays the grounding for cooperative efforts. In this sense, then, the passing of the statewide planning law set the stage for the integration of higher education in New York State.

Statewide Integration

Prior to the master planning activities in the 1960s, coordination and cooperation within the state was minimal; it could not really be maintained that New York had a "system" of higher education. The planning law in effect designated the Regents as the statewide integrators of the system. Evidence of this integrative role was seen in three separate proposals for interinstitutional cooperation in which the Regents played a significant part. One program focused on doctoral programs in the Albany-Schenectady-Troy area (Winsor and Schmelzer, 1962); a second involved eight institutions in the Brooklyn area (Nelson Associates, 1963); and a third dealt with nine institutions in the Rochester area, which were to cooperate in business and financial affairs, foreign area studies, libraries, educational television, and student health programs (Nelson Associates, 1962).

In addition to planning activities and specific programs for interinstitutional cooperation, an increasingly important means by which the Regents foster integration is through the allocation of federal funds and state monies to private institutions. This serves the added function of involving private institutions more directly and regularly in comprehensive state planning and in cooperative arrangements with public institutions.

Recognition by the Regents of the need for integration in the statewide system, and of their role in guiding and encouraging it, was implicit in several of the recommendations of the 1964 Master Plan. No specific proposals for regentially administered programs were offered, but various studies were suggested and cooperation among certain institutions was encouraged. For example, the Regents requested funds from the legislature to study the feasibility of establishing a cooperative computer facility. They also recommended that "groups of colleges and universities that have close geographic and other ties develop interinstitutional cooperative programs and joint use of resources." A commitment also was made to continue to cooperate with SUNY and other institutions in the development of a statewide educational television network and a statewide system of regional reference and research libraries. Although these recommendations reflect the Regents' awareness of the importance of integration, they do not necessarily indicate that the board plans to play a leadership role in this area.

In the 1968 Master Plan, two further steps were taken to increase the role of the Regents in integrating New York's system of higher education. A $1,000,000 appropriation was requested from the legislature for the next fiscal year to allow the Education Department to provide financial aid for institutions which plan to establish interinstitutional programs. In addition, the Reference and Research Library Resources Program, recommended in the previous master plan, has been implemented. Nine regional systems have been established, each system making the resources of any of the participating libraries in the region available to both public and private colleges and universities. Plans call for using computers to increase both the efficiency and effectiveness of the program.

In further attempts to bring together colleges and universities to discuss various types of cooperative arrangements, the Office of Administrative Services in the Education Department has sponsored several conferences throughout the state. There are indications that several interinstitutional programs may result from these meetings.

Cooperative Activities of the Segments

One of the most innovative and potentially significant integrative programs in New York is the University of the Air, co-sponsored by the State University and the City University. It provides a series of televised courses similar to those regularly offered during the freshman or sophomore year. Anyone can enroll at one of the participating SUNY or CUNY campuses, for full college credit. Instruction is provided by televised lectures and laboratory work and examinations are given at the local campuses. Utilizing such arrangements, one's living room could become the classroom of the future and the best faculty in the country could be available to millions of students simultaneously. The fact that these two sometimes competing segments--CUNY and SUNY--have been able to cooperate on the development of this program is a favorable sign and provides an excellent example of the potential for integrative activities between independent segments. Further efforts to share resources are presently underway. Proposals for a joint computer system and a mutual affiliation with the New York Public Library System.

One of the most important ways in which segments become integrated is through what is commonly referred to as an articulation agreement. Such arrangements establish course equivalents so that students can transfer from one segment to another with a minimum loss of credit. Articulation was a serious problem during the late 1950s and early '60s because of the antagonism engendered in CUNY and SUNY by the legislature's attempts to combine the two segments into a single public system. With the recent general improvement in the relations between CUNY and SUNY, however, some articulation agreements have been worked out. Although these agreements have eased the transfer of students between the community colleges and the four-year institutions, transfer students are still encountering two general problems: Sometimes total credit is not granted for the first two years of academic work, and sometimes the curricular requirements of the two types of institutions differ, with the result that a transfer student may be forced to work an extra semester in order to receive his degree. These issues have been discussed by the staffs of the two systems.

A major problem exists with respect to integration between the private institutions and the two public systems. The private institutions have had no strong segmental voice to promote such cooperation, in part because of the large number and diverse character of private colleges and universities. The Bundy Committee recommended that the Regents develop a plan for the sharing of resources of public and private colleges on a statewide basis by strengthening the Commission on Independent Colleges so that it could become "the effective third voice in the state." Since the commission has recently engaged a full-time executive secretary, it might begin to coordinate and stimulate intersegmental cooperation in the future.

A recent change in attitude within the State University will also increase the likelihood of cooperation with the private colleges. In the early 1960s the SUNY Central Office concentrated on expanding and improving in all areas simultaneously in order to build a comprehensive State University system. Recently, more attention has been given to developing cooperative arrangements with private institutions. By way of illustration, a recommendation has been made to establish a coordinated regional network of public and private institutions in the mid-Hudson Valley. The preliminary plan calls for the creation by the State University of a Hudson Valley Graduate Center, administered and operated cooperatively by existing private institutions and the State University; the establishment of a mid-Hudson Educational Services Secretariat to help all private and public institutions of the area in the joint planning of programs and the sharing of resources; and the creation of a Regional Higher Education Planning Council for the continual planning and review of the quantity and quality of higher education in the region.

Integration of Private Institutions

Although it is difficult at this point to assess how extensive the cooperative arrangements are on the basis of the present research, the Bundy Committee's conclusions were that there was little evidence of interinstitutional cooperation on the scale necessary to achieve significant educational and economic advantages.

One serendipitous effect of the recent Constitutional Convention was that it evoked a great deal of discussion among the private institutions. Some important issues were at stake for them, such as the repeal of the Bailne Amendment (which prohibits the granting of state monies to institutions with a religious affiliation) and the so-called "free higher education" proposal, the exact meaning of which was apparent to no one and therefore was interpreted as a threat by everyone. Since both of these issues were of fundamental importance to the future of private higher education, they stimulated an examination of the role of private colleges and universities in the state. The representatives of private institutions have, therefore, become more aware of their common problems and of the potential for cooperative solutions to them.

Another factor which might lead to a greater degree of integration within private higher education is the increased planning which can be expected to take place. In New York the bill providing direct state aid to private institutions stipulated that one of the qualifications for receiving a grant was the submission of a long-range academic plan to the State Education Department. As this planning activity progresses, it can be expected that potentially fruitful areas in which neighboring institutions can share resources will become evident.

The State University—Integration as a Central Task

In a system as large and diverse as the State University, coordinating the development of University Centers, Colleges of Arts and Sciences, community colleges, medical schools, and agricultural and technical institutes is a formidable challenge. The need for integrating this heterogeneous group of campuses was clearly recognized in the 1964 Master Plan, when the trustees recommended that the central staff be expanded so that it could serve an integrative function. They also proposed a variety of university-wide programs and resource-sharing mechanisms.

In the last four years, such programs have been initiated and expanded through the Office of University-wide Activities, which stimulates, establishes, and administers the integrative programs of the State University. Many integrative activities are directly or indirectly a result of the efforts of this office, a few of which are cited below.

In addition to the development of the University of the Air, a statewide computer system is being developed. The first part of this system, in operation at the University Center in Binghamton, presently connects seven campuses and will eventually be shared by 15 colleges in the area. It is being used by faculty for research purposes, by students for course assignments, and by administrators as a data processing center. The development of a statewide library microfilm system is also being contemplated.

Another area in which SUNY has attempted to foster integration is faculty research. The State University Research Foundation (SURF) has been established to process all research proposals from State University faculty before they are sent to a funding agency. SURF also purchases research supplies and equipment for the faculty in order to avoid the red tape involved in the state purchasing agency. Some SURF funds are put directly into the support of research by providing a small number of faculty with summer fellowships and grants.

SUNY is also establishing university-wide research centers which will be designed to serve the entire system. Two examples of such units are the Atmospheric Sciences Research Center at the Albany campus and the Marine Biology Center at Stonybrook. These centers coordinate and develop inter-campus research programs and host university-wide research conferences.

A few other integrative programs involve faculty exchanges between campuses as promoted by the Scholar-in-Residence Program, the Distinguished Professors Exchange Program, and the Trustees' Lecture Series; student cooperation and communication is encouraged through interdisciplinary and intercampus student seminars. To broaden the educational experiences of the students, a university-wide International Education Program is also in operation.

Several Colleges of Arts and Science also have developed cooperative relationships. The Four-College Consortium was organized by four institutions which are in the process of shifting their primary mission from that of teacher education to arts and sciences. These colleges are cooperating in institutional research and planning activities in order to ease and accelerate the transition to their new educational function.

Resource Allocation

New York is a more complex state than most to analyze in terms of the degree to which it provides financial support for its system of higher education. The financial picture is complicated by a number of factors: the large number of private institutions whose support comes mainly from a variety of sources other than the state government; the City University, which receives support from both state and city revenues; the community colleges, which receive financial aid from a combination of state and local sources; and the indirect means by which capital construction funds are provided.

In terms of per capita income, New York has consistently ranked above the national average. In 1950 its per capita income was $1,871, compared with the national figure of $1,496. In 1965, it ranked sixth among the states, and in 1967 it ranked second. Among the major industrial states, New York presently has the highest level of per capita income (Department of Commerce, 1968).

Other national comparisons, however, show that increases in funds for higher education were more conservative. In 1960, before the vast expansion of the state and city universities, New York contributed the second lowest percentage of per capita income of any state in the country to public higher education. By 1965, New York's position had only improved to fifth lowest among the states (U. S. Bureau of Census, 1966). If we consider the level of state support given to higher education compared with that given other public services, the results are similar. While the national average percentage of state revenues going to higher education was 10.5 percent in 1960, New York only appropriated 3.8 percent of its state budget for such purposes. The situation remained fairly stable during the following six years. The national average increased 3.2 percent (10.5 to 13.7) during this period and New York's support rose 2.9 percent (from 3.8 to 6.9). The appropriations of state tax funds for the operating expenses of higher education in New York State climbed from $78.5 million for 1959-60 to $431.2 million for 1967-68 (Chambers, 1968).

These nationwide statistics must be qualified by citing some of the idiosyncratic features of New York's system. The expenditures of the state government reveal only part of the picture; not included in these figures is the New York City contribution to its public senior colleges, which slightly exceeds that of the state government. For 1967-68, the city provided 44.5 percent on the City University budget (compared with the state contribution of 41 percent). This amounted to about $77 million. If one includes state appropriations for all types of higher education, public and private, and both operating and capital budgets, the figure comes to $826.7 millions for 1968-69 as compared with $514.1 millions in 1964-65. This represents a 245 percent increase in total state appropriations across two successive biennia (State Education Department, 1969).

New York State citizens also contribute to a certain extent to the financial viability of a large number of private colleges and universities. Although no recent or precise data can be cited here, the 1960 Heald Report presented statistics which combined the total expenditures of public and private institutions, and concluded that in 1957-58, of 15 other states, "New York ranked high in dollar expenditures, but relatively low in tax money per capita spent on teaching students in its colleges and universities" (Committee on Higher Education, 1960).

Another indication of the degree of commitment by New York citizens to higher education which is not reflected completely by state expenditures is the expanding system of community colleges. Local revenues are used by the two-year institutions to pay one-half of the capital budget and one-third of the operating expenses.

It is difficult to draw firm conclusions from these facts because, while state per capita income expenditures for higher education are quite low compared with other states, a variety of other sources are used to finance higher education. If a composite index which takes these other factors into account were calculated, New York's position relative to the other states would undoubtedly seem better.

Budgetary Freedom of the State University

In general, the governor in New York State plays a strong role in state government and his role is particularly decisive in the formulation of the budget. His political leverage has been used effectively to provide financial support for higher education, particularly for State University, and his support was also instrumental in establishing the financial program which will provide grants for private colleges and universities.

The major agency of the executive branch involved in budgetary matters is the State Budget Division. Ever since the creation of State University, there have been complaints from various quarters concerning the strict line-item budget and the detailed pre- and post-audits which the Budget Division has imposed on SUNY. Both the Heald Report in 1960 and the Wells Report in 1964 recommended that State University be given greater administrative and budgetary flexibility, and in 1964 the governor sent a special message to the legislature outlining a four-point program to give the university greater autonomy in the management of its affairs. The governor conceded that line-item budgets were too restrictive, and recommended that SUNY be given lump-sum appropriations within broad categories. The legislature agreed to use this budgetary format and instituted it in 1965. SUNY was also given greater autonomy through a revision of Chapter 338 of the Education Law which involved deletion of the requirement that the Commissioner of Education review State University budget requests and incorporate them into the Education Department's budget. Removing one of the last vestiges of direct regential control over State University, SUNY budget requests were routed directly to the governor and the chairmen of the Finance Committees of the Legislature for revision and approval.

In 1967 and 1968 some additional important changes took place which involved the Budget Division; all state agencies, including higher education, were transferred to a planning, programming, and budgeting system (PPBS). In the final analysis, PPBS can be used either to centralize or decentralize budgetary decision making. Its effect will depend upon the personnel who operate the system in the Budget Division and upon the degree of cooperation the budget analysts and educational administrators can achieve in developing the system.

The Financing of Capital Budgets

An executive department which has been crucial in higher education in New York State is the Dormitory Authority, an agency which sells bonds on a long-term basis in order to provide construction funds for the institutions of higher learning. This method of financing eliminates the need to periodically place bond issues before the voters to finance the construction of new facilities. The Authority's funds are used for dormitory construction in CUNY and SUNY and for dormitories and academic facilities in the private institutions. Academic facilities in the public sector are financed through the SUNY and CUNY construction funds. Without this method of underwriting the capital budgets of the segments, New York could not have coped as successfully as it has with the burgeoning demand for higher education.

Greater Administrative Flexibility

Two important areas involving resource allocation were liberalized as a result of the recommendations of the Heald and Wells reports. For many years State University had been hampered by the red tape and rigidity involved in making purchases through the Office of General Services. To allow SUNY greater autonomy and more prompt action in the area of purchasing, the governor increased the staff of the Office of General Services in 1964, recommended a streamlining of administrative procedures in this office, and suggested that greater flexibility be given State University for the purchase of special items.

State University had also been restricted by the state civil service law from recruiting qualified professional staff and hiring at competitive salary levels. After the State Education Department supported the recommendations of the Heald and Wells Committees, the civil service law was amended in 1964. Henceforth, the chancellor was allowed to transfer many of the most important professional staff positions into the "unclassified" civil service category, and was authorized to make any necessary salary adjustments for these personnel.

The Legislature's Role in Budgeting

In New York State the legislature has played a somewhat less important role in the budgetary process for higher education than in most other states. It has been largely dominated by the governor, who has been able to push his appropriation bills through both houses quite consistently. The governor's power is based on a coalition between the Republicans and a group of Democrats, largely from New York City, who are strongly in favor of public higher education.

One of the basic problems in the legislature is that it does not have an education expert to keep it informed and to provide it with independent judgments regarding budgetary matters. The Wells Report (1964) proposed that the legislature add a consulting expert on higher education to its regular staff. In interviews, some of the members of the major committees dealing with higher education confessed to being ill-informed about developments in the three segments and sorely in need of specialized staff assistants. There was also a general lack of understanding about the theory and practice of program budgeting. Legislators have become so accustomed to the detailed line-item format that the transfer to PPBS may further vitiate their role in the budget-making process. In discussions with legislators, no well-informed opinions regarding the significance of the change to program budgeting could be elicited.

The legislature has taken the lead, however, in respect to educational programs for the disadvantaged. On the basis of a recommendation by the Wells Committee, it passed a bill calling for the establishment of "Urban Centers" and providing special funds for SUNY and CUNY to plan and develop these programs. Support for such funds comes mainly from some of the influential Democrats from New York City, where this type of special program is most needed.

The legislature has also shown an interest in attracting high quality faculty to New York State. In 1964, both houses approved a program which established specially endowed faculty positions. Einstein Chairs in science and Schweitzer Chairs in the humanities were created and awarded to both public and private institutions. Each chair carries a stipend of $100,000 and attracts some of the most distinguished scholars in the country.

Fiscal Review and the Changing Role of the Regents

For a number of years after the formation of SUNY, the Board of Regents continued to review the State University budget before it was sent to the legislature, although their efforts did not serve to coordinate academic and fiscal planning and served as an additional source of red tape and unnecessary delay.

At the recommendation of the Heald Committee, authority to review the budgets was removed from the Regents, and while the segments deal with the Regents in matters related to academic planning, fiscal matters are negotiated directly between the segment offices and the Budget Division. The long-range effect of this bifurcation of authority will bear close examination as the personnel in the State Budget Division and in the SUNY and CUNY central offices regularize their relationships.

Without a legal role in the annual budget process, the Regents nevertheless do incorporate estimates of the level of expenditures for higher education for the forthcoming eight-year period in the quadrennial plan. These very general estimates of operating and capital expenditures provide some indication to the governor and the legislature of anticipated rises in the cost of higher education.

The Regents' role with respect to the financing of private institutions also was changed by the bill giving direct state financial aid to private nonsectarian colleges and universities. This made it possible for the Regents to obtain financial data from the private institutions and thus assist them in maintaining their financial viability.

The State Education Department also plays a role in resource allocation through its responsibility for the distribution of federal aid-to-education programs.

Financial Support of State University

The State University's operating budget almost quadrupled from $57.4 million in the 1960-61 fiscal year to $234 million for 1966-67 (Board of Trustees, 1966, PFS-1). In 1964 it was already estimated that the budget would reach about $500 million by 1975. During the period from 1960-67, the SUNY capital expenditures, exclusive of the community colleges, amounted to about $539 million, and according to projections another $2 billion will be needed to complete the facilities required by 1975 (Board of Trustees, 1968).

A crucial factor in SUNY's recent expansion has been its success in building new facilities rapidly. To a certain extent the growth of the operating budget is dependent on the facilities available for program and enrollment expansion, and in this respect the State University Construction Fund was established as a public benefit corporation, to be financed by bonds issued through the State Housing Finance Agency and amortized by student tuition and fees. The Fund has simplified and speeded up project approval procedures, provided a continuous and unprecedented flow of capital resources, and succeeded in improving the design of facilities both functionally and aesthetically.

Of the several areas of uncertainty still to be ironed out, one of the major ones is the PPBS system. At one point in the development of this format, the State University staff calculated that the procedures being proposed by the Budget Division would have meant that almost 6,000 forms would have to be filled out in preparing the budget, an example indicative of the difference in perspective between the State University and the Budget Division staffs in regard to the amount of detailed data which is necessary to justify appropriations. Some State University officials fear that in the long run program budgeting could lead to more rigid controls than the line-item approach.

The State University is also restricted by the auditing system utilized in New York State; the comptroller, head of the Department of Audit and Control and chief fiscal officer of the state, is required by the Constitution to make a "pre-audit" and "post-audit" of all expenditures of all state agencies. A description taken from the 1966-67 Legislative Manual (1966) gives some indication of what these functions involve and of their restrictive potential:

> . . .The pre-audit serves as an integral part of the central accounting and payment process. It ascertains whether payment vouchers are supported by valid documents which are not, upon their face, unreasonable or fraudulent.

> The post-audit serves to complement the pre-audit by means of in-depth, on-site reviews of the internal and operating controls underlying the accrual and collection of revenues and the incurrence and payment of obligations. The Comptroller also post-audits all public authorities, including their receipts, disbursements, contracts, and any other matters relating to their financial standing [p. 525].

Financing Community Colleges

One other issue regarding State University finances is the method of providing state assistance to community colleges. These institutions are designed to serve the post high school needs of local communities. However, since in most cases the local tax base is inadequate to support such programs, it has been necessary to provide state financial aid. In order to give the state some control over the development of the community colleges, they were placed under the formal authority of the State University.

In 1948, a bill set the state's contribution at a third of the operating cost and a half of the capital budget of each community college, but this proved inadequate and there have been periodic efforts to increase the proportion of state funds. Although the 1961 Heald Committee recommended increasing state assistance for both capital and operating budgets, this and other efforts have thus far failed. A study of major policy questions concerning the two-year colleges has been conducted jointly by the trustees and the Regents, and a re-evaluation of financial arrangements was one of its primary concerns.

An underlying reason for the financial problems of the community colleges is the lack of an equalization formula which would allow state contributions to vary according to local district needs. Such an approach has been used quite successfully in California and Florida, but in New York all community colleges receive a fixed proportion of state support whether their districts are rich or poor, with the result that the wealthiest districts receive the largest grants.

Another complicating factor in this situation is that tuition in the community colleges differ. The total operating budget of each institution is supposed to consist of one-third state support, one-third county support, and one-third tuition. In an effort to make up their deficit, some of the poorer counties have been forced to raise tuition to the State University maximum of $400, thus shifting the financial burden to the students in these districts. This violates one of the basic functions of the community college--that of providing educational opportunity to those least able to afford it. If the State University's recently reaffirmed policy of augmenting educational opportunity is to be implemented, a more equitable method of financing the community colleges must be established.

The fiscal flexibility of the two-year colleges varies tremendously. According to state law, each sponsoring district can choose from among three budgetary formats. Plan A provides for a line-item budget, Plan B involves a combination of line-item and lump-sum methods, and Plan C allows for a lump-sum approach. As a result, the fiscal autonomy of each community college depends upon local conditions. No firm generalizations can be made, but the trend seems to be toward the more flexible lump-sum format.

The Unresolved Financial Crisis of City University

Between 1847, when the Free Academy was founded, and 1948, the City of New York provided almost all of the funds for its municipal colleges. However, in 1948 the state began to provide financial assistance to the city colleges in order to aid in the expansion of teacher training programs. The state was greatly in need of teachers for its rapidly expanding public school system and the New York City municipal colleges had traditionally satisfied most of this demand. However, by the late 1940s the city was finding it increasingly difficult to finance the required rate of expansion and the legislature began to reimburse the city for the full operating costs of its teacher training programs. In 1948 this sum amounted to $3 million, and it has risen rapidly since then. According to Board of Education figures (1964), the state contribution to CUNY teacher training programs reached almost $21 million by 1964.

For a number of years this was the only area in which the state provided financial aid. But in 1959 the legislature supplemented its support by agreeing to pay the City of New York for the support of one-sixth of the current operating costs of educating all students enrolled in the first two years of undergraduate study in the senior colleges. Up until 1959, admission to the city colleges was restricted to residents of the City of New York, and no tuition was charged. However, one of the provisions of the 1959 legislative action was that the municipal colleges admit residents of New York State who reside outside New York City on the condition that such students pay tuition fees amounting to one-third of the operating costs and that the county of their residence pay an additional third. One year later the state assistance was increased from one-sixth to one-third. By 1964 this program resulted in a state contribution of about $5.5 million, in addition to special funds allocated to assist the City University in launching and expanding its graduate programs.

These and various other special state aid programs resulted in a set of very complex formulas for determining the overall state contribution to CUNY. According to one interviewee, it also led to an informal policy by CUNY of expanding those programs for which the state provided monies. As a result, the fiscal relations with the state government were indirectly shaping the academic development of the City University.

The detrimental effect on academic planning of the piecemeal fiscal support of the state, the complexity of the budget formulas, and the further erosion of the New York City tax base combined in

1965 to produce a financial crisis in the City University of unprecedented proportions. As a result, there was a great deal of political maneuvering between the state and city officials. At one point, combining SUNY and CUNY into a single public system under the Board of Trustees was considered. New York City government and CUNY officials argued that they deserved increased state support because the City University performs for the 7.8 million people of New York City approximately the same educational services that the State University provides for 9 million people in the remainder of the state. Since the citizens and businesses of the city provide a large proportion of the state revenues, a sizeable percentage of which supports SUNY, they felt the City University is entitled to greater state support. They also maintained that CUNY should remain administratively autonomous because New York City's educational needs and problems are so different from those of the smaller cities and rural areas served by SUNY.

While state officials agreed that the City University required and deserved greater financial support from Albany, they were reluctant to appropriate such large sums as would be demanded in the future without imposing some control over the allocation of these funds. The resolution of the crisis resulted in two basic changes in the methods of allocating state monies to the City University. First, the complicated formulas of the past were replaced. Under the City University Supplemental Aid and Construction Fund Act, the city and state share equally in the net current operating cost of the senior colleges. In addition, the state now pays the entire cost for the Search for Education, Elevation, and Knowledge program (SEEK) and for the Educational Skills Centers, which are special programs for the disadvantaged.

The second major change was the creation of the City University Construction Fund, a corporation similar to that used by the State University, with long-term bonds amortized equally on a 50-50 basis by the state and city.

An important issue which was involved in securing greater state support was that of tuition. The City University has a tradition of free tuition that has been in effect for 120 years. Thus far CUNY has succeeded in retaining its tuition-free policy, and the general budget has provided funds for paying off Construction Fund bonds.

Between 1948 and 1967 the state share of the City University budget has increased from 18 percent to 41 percent. This has not fully resolved CUNY's financial problems, however, a fact which was emphasized in the 1968 CUNY Master Plan.

City Government Controls on the University

One of the problems mentioned frequently at the City University campuses was the restrictive line-item budget imposed by the city government. The City Council reviews each campus budget in great detail, and for a number of years the Board of Higher Education has been pressuring the council for more fiscal flexibility. In 1966 the board itself changed to a lump-sum format divided into nine general categories. To meet city requirements, however, the campuses still have to provide a line-itemization within these categories. Under the financial crisis in which the city finds itself, the council contends that it must maintain tight control over its monies in order to stretch each dollar as far as possible. It is questionable whether, in the long run, the City University can provide the best education without the budgetary freedom which is needed to meet the different circumstances at each campus. The Board of Higher Education will not be able to implement its policy of granting greater fiscal flexibility to the campuses until the city government delegates greater autonomy to the board.

A respondent noted that the city does save money indirectly by using a line-item budget:

> ...A line-item budget is great for a city short of money because it always forces savings due to the lags in filling positions and purchasing items coupled with the rigidities that result from the fact that monies specified for certain things cannot be used for anything else. In other words, you can never spend all the money you are authorized under a line-item budget.

There is some evidence to indicate that the city government may grant greater fiscal autonomy to CUNY in the near future. A budget director who favors program budgeting has been hired, and in 1967 an agreement was signed between the Director and the City University Chancellor which was designed to increase budgetary flexibility within the line-item format. This agreement may be a prelude to transferring CUNY to a lump-sum or program budget. At any rate, it indicates that city officials are aware of the need for granting the City University greater control over its own financial affairs.

Financing Private Higher Education

New York's earliest state scholarship program provided $100 a year (the average full tuition cost at the time) for four years to 3,000 students. For some 20 years thereafter the state contribution to private higher education consisted solely of this $300,000 annual scholarship program. During the 1930s, '40s, and '50s, several increases in the number and/or size of the individual grants were enacted by the legislature.

The second major step toward state aid for private institutions was taken when the legislature passed the Scholar Incentive Program, to provide financial assistance to any able student in need of it. But it was also viewed as a means of providing indirect aid to private colleges and universities.

In the first six years (1961-1967), New York State invested $144 million in the Scholar Incentive Program. However, in carefully analyzing the financial benefit of these funds the Select Committee (1968) remarked that "The Scholar Incentive Program, to date, has provided modest but important help to students and very little, if any, to institutions." So, in effect, the state was still doing almost nothing to improve the financial condition of private institutions by 1967 and pressures were building up in various quarters for a reconsideration of a direct aid program.

The aid program which was suggested by the Select Committee (1968) was similar to the earlier proposal made by the Heald Committee. The grants were to be based on the number of degrees conferred by each institution, and the recommendation was made that the State Constitution be amended to allow grants to sectarian institutions to support non-religious degree programs.

On May 24, 1968, the legislature passed a bill to establish a direct financial aid program for private higher education, expected to total about $33 million during the first year of operation. A companion bill to amend the Constitution so that church-affiliated colleges could be included in the program was rejected by a legislative committee.

The implementation of the major proposal of the Bundy Select Committee represents an important step in the development of higher education in New York. Whether it will destroy the freedom and the independence of private institutions, as some fear, or maintain a balanced system of private and public colleges remains to be seen.

EDUCATIONAL AUTONOMY

The concept of educational autonomy has been used to express an institution's capacity to achieve its academic objectives and purposes. The following section assesses the progress made in achieving the statewide goals for higher education in New York.

The Extension of Educational Opportunity

Despite the relatively late development of public higher education, the most significant accomplishment in New York State has been the extension of educational opportunity during the present decade. All three segments have played an important part in this achievement. In 1961, prior to the implementation of the Heald Committee recommendations, New York had a full-time undergraduate enrollment of about 205,000 students. Five years later the statewide system was able to accommodate 316,000 students. This expansion consisted of an 87 percent increase in the enrollment at public universities and a 31 percent rise in private institutions. The difference between these rates is not as significant as it might seem. From 1961-66 the long-stagnant public system was undergoing its most rapid expansion, and the bulk of this growth was occurring in the community colleges. The well-developed private sector, on the other hand, was still able to increase its enrollment by almost one-third. Therefore, the expansion in both public and private institutions was relatively substantial.

However, according to the latest State Education Department projections, the future demand for higher education will present a much greater challenge. Whereas 361,000 full-time undergraduate students are now being accommodated, by 1980 about 620,000 can be expected to seek admittance to institutions of higher learning. In addition, an increase of almost 60 percent in graduate enrollment by 1980 has also been predicted. The question which the policymakers must face then is whether or not the state can continue to muster the resources necessary to prolong and accelerate the present rate of expansion for at least another decade.

In 1967 the Young Commission pointed out that New York was a major exporter of college students. The lack of free public higher education and the high cost of most private institutions forced many students to pursue their postsecondary education in other states. Consequently, the bulk of the expansion from 1960 to the present has simply allowed many of these college-bound youth to remain in their home state. The growth of the State University and the City University, as well as the state scholarship programs, has extended the opportunity for a traditional college education to many who could not otherwise have afforded it.

In the future, however, the extension of educational opportunity will entail more than a quantitative expansion of existing programs. As the movement to universalize higher education is further extended, a constituency is being tapped for whom the traditional college education is inapplicable, irrelevant, unrealistic, or undesired. As a result, entirely new types of programs must be devised. In New York considerable attention has been paid to this problem in the last few years. The State University has made a concerted effort to expand its vocational-technical programs at the community colleges, the City University has developed a variety of new programs specifically designed for the educationally disadvantaged, and the legislature has fostered the creation of Urban Skills Centers within both public segments to provide remedial education. The support for such programs at the statewide level has been quite strong. In their recent master planning, the Board of Regents has placed top priority on programs for the disadvantaged, and the governor and legislature have frequently reaffirmed their commitment by providing financial support.

SUNY's Development

A number of articles in newspapers and national magazines have recently predicted that within ten years the State University of New York will be the top public higher education system in the country. If one compares the 67-campus system of today with the dozen or so teachers' colleges and technical institutes which comprised the State University when it was created in 1948, the dynamic growth of the last two decades is obvious.

The functions of the State University have expanded and presently encompass a broad spectrum of programs. The four University Centers are rapidly becoming comprehensive graduate and research-oriented institutions; the Colleges of Arts and Science are striving to develop quality undergraduate liberal arts programs; and an extensive system of community colleges are offering liberal arts transfer programs and two-year vocational programs. In addition, the State University campuses include two medical schools, six agricultural and technical institutes, two specialized colleges, and five contract colleges.

The growth of the State University was reflected by the increase in the number of full and part-time students from 68,331 in 1960 to 222,481 in 1967. During the same period, the number of degrees granted almost tripled and the number of full-time faculty rose from a total of some 3,400 to more than 11,000. Furthermore, over 450 projects for expanding facilities have been completed since 1960, not including construction at the community colleges. Other factors, such as the growth in the level of support for faculty research, expansion of library holdings, the use of electronic media, etc., could be cited to emphasize the extent of the changes which the State University has undergone.

Since many of the changes mentioned above have occurred quite recently, whether qualitative growth has also occurred cannot be firmly assessed. But there is one important aspect of the State University which might portend continued success--namely, the openness to change and the futuristic orientation of the State University. If the State University can maintain this orientation and garner the necessary resources, it will be well situated for fulfilling the predictions of future prominence.

Program Review Procedures

The quality of an educational enterprise depends, at least initially, on the criteria and procedures used to authorize new programs. If a State University campus desires to offer a new degree program, it must obtain approval from the central office. But the central office in turn must submit the proposal of the State Education Department for approval. This latter review has caused considerable disagreement between the State University administration and the staff of the Education Department. The key to the problem rests in developing satisfactory procedures regarding the amount of detail examined at various levels in the hierarchy.

The State University has recently attempted to decentralize program review to the campus level for those programs which are clearly consistent with the assigned educational functions of a particular campus. The formal policy (Porter, 1968) stipulates that:

> Central responsibility extends here only to identify the procedures which a campus shall follow in initiating such degree programs, and not to the question of whether or not it will offer them [p. 4].

What this procedure boils down to is that the central office has provided the criteria for the introduction of new programs, but the campus has been delegated the responsibility for applying these standards and making the final decision.

The problem is that the proposals must still be approved by the State Education Department, and they require a great deal of detailed information concerning such matters as faculty, facilities, library resources, and student admissions standards. The central office feels that this procedure involves too much red tape, delay, and unnecessary duplication of effort, and that it acts to stifle its efforts to decentralize the locus of decision-making. The office would prefer that the State Education Department restrict its functions to the broader task of accrediting institutions as a whole and guiding the statewide planning effort.

At a system-wide level and in terms of the long-range future the picture seems generally bright for SUNY. When the contemporary situation of each type of campus is considered, however, the forecast is considerably altered.

The University Centers

It is often difficult to maintain or improve quality when an organization is expanding rapidly. And those parts of the organization to which quality is most crucial may be hurt most by the quantitative expansion. This may be the case at the University Centers. By abandoning the effort to develop a specialized focus for each center, the State University may have relegated all four campuses to mediocrity, and attempting to develop high quality graduate programs in all fields at all four campuses simultaneously, limited resources may be spread so thin that quality may be sacrificed. Some of the central office staff have recognized this problem, but the academic imperialism of the faculty and administrators at the centers have forced the trustees to allow each campus to develop comprehensively.

Because of the original differences between the four campuses, their problems in developing quality graduate programs are unique. The University of Buffalo was a private institution until it became part of the State University in 1962. Shortly thereafter, the trustees designated it as the only campus to be developed into a comprehensive university. Since its merger, 66 new degree programs, principally on the master's and doctoral level have been instituted, enrollment has expanded rapidly, many new faculty and staff have been recruited, and operating and capital budgets have risen dramatically (Select Committee, 1968).

Although several highly competent administrators have been recruited to guide Buffalo's development, the growth rate has been such that bureaucratic controls also have proliferated. One of the possible reasons that this may have become more of a problem at Buffalo than at most other SUNY campuses is that the organizational structure, rules, and regulations which governed Buffalo when it was a private institution have not yet been totally replaced by State University procedures. One administrator cogently described the paradoxical effect which this situation has had upon the institution:

> I look upon the Buffalo campus as an underdeveloped country. Potentials exist, resources are becoming

> increasingly plentiful, and the desire to be different is apparent. However, on the other hand, this institution has become sick, over-bureaucratized, dull, conservative, bound by its own traditions, etc. These people are endlessly rule-oriented.

This quotation indicates an awareness of both the excitement and frustration of rapid growth. But one of the reasons growth has created such difficulties at Buffalo is that it has been largely uncontrolled. One interviewee realized this when he commented:

> What we need is a timetable for the development of new programs. It is difficult to plan when such guidelines do not exist. You can't talk about growth in specifics on this campus when everything is being pushed simultaneously. What might be better is selective growth on some sort of schedule.

In essence, the problem is not that the University Center at Buffalo is trying to become a comprehensive graduate institution, but that it is trying to do so overnight. Comprehensiveness may be a defensible long-range goal, but priorities of growth must be established in the interim. The development of more than 60 graduate level programs in a five-year period is a major challenge.

The University Center at Binghamton was also originally part of a private institution, having been a branch campus of Syracuse University, and called Triple Cities College. When absorbed into the State University, it was intended that this institution seek to become a small, high quality, undergraduate liberal arts college. It was integrated into SUNY as Harper College in 1950, the sole liberal arts college in the system, and it was redesignated as SUNY-Binghamton when it became a University Center in 1964.

Its growth pattern has been similar to that of Buffalo. The college's student body of 1,000 has quadrupled in the last few years, and the long-term enrollment ceiling has been established as 12,000. Thus, expansion plus the shift from a single to a multi-purpose institution have resulted in inevitable tensions. Some of the senior faculty had been deeply committed to the exclusive focus on undergraduate education and resented the influx of young research-oriented faculty. In an attempt to retain some elements of the Harper tradition, Binghamton has adopted the cluster college concept. It is still too early to assess the success of this endeavor, but several respondents expressed considerable skepticism. When queried about the conflict between qualitative and quantitative expansion, one administrator responded:

> That is the heart of the problem on this campus. We wanted to be an elite liberal arts college, but it will probably be impossible to maintain this emphasis. Many faculty and students feel that the quantitative thrust is already leveling the quality of our undergraduate programs. We think we are fighting a losing battle and in the end quality will be sacrificed.

The pressures for expansion may be inexorable, but the fairly widespread sensitivity to and concern about this dilemma among the faculty, students, and administrators at Binghamton may allow them to control and channel growth. The vestiges of the Harper College tradition may have a salubrious effect on Binghamton's development as it strives toward its comprehensive university status.

Albany, the only original campus of the State University to be designated as a University Center, began as a teachers' college. However, since academic majors were required of all students, the general liberal arts curricula was fairly well developed. The Albany campus was, therefore, in a better position than most of the other teachers colleges to make the transition to university status. The task was to re-orient existing liberal arts courses and expand the curricula to the graduate level. The problems that have been encountered are somewhat similar to those of the other centers, although the conflicts have been mainly between the teacher education faculty and the liberal arts faculty. Again, according to several interviewees, no priorities of growth have been established to guide the quest for comprehensiveness, and the quality of the rapidly proliferating graduate programs may be in jeopardy.

The uniqueness of the University Center at Stonybrook resides in the fact that it is the only completely new campus. It was originally conceived as a university and has, therefore, no conflicting traditions to overcome. And in contrast to the other centers, Stonybrook has made some effort to develop its programs selectively. The president is strongly committed to developing outstanding programs in the natural sciences and has vigorously supported the growth of this area. The pressure for comprehensive expansion in this case has come from the humanities and social science faculties, many of whom were attracted to Stonybrook precisely because it seemed to offer an opportunity to participate in building a new strong department in their field. The resolution of the conflict between comprehensiveness and selective development will have a significant impact on the long-range educational autonomy of this University Center.

The Colleges of Arts and Sciences

The problems of educational autonomy in the Colleges of Arts and Science center around the conflict between their traditional teacher training function and their new responsibility for offering liberal arts programs. Since the demand for elementary and secondary teachers has steadily increased, the institutions have continually expanded and improved the teacher training programs at the same time that they have attempted to develop baccalaureate and master's programs in the arts and sciences.

One of the factors that has held up the progress of the Colleges of Arts and Science in making the transition to multi-purpose institutions has been the concentration of efforts in the State University to develop the University Centers. The reasoning behind this approach evidently has been that the prestige of the system as a whole will rest on the quality of its graduate programs and research productivity. The decision to develop all four University Centers into comprehensive graduate institutions has probably resulted in an even greater imbalance in emphasis than was originally contemplated. At any rate, the development of the Colleges of Arts and Science has occurred somewhat more slowly than that of the centers.

The strategy adopted by the central office for the development of the Colleges of Arts and Science was to exercise fairly tight control until "old-guard" administrators were replaced with strong, independent, liberal arts-oriented presidents and other key administrators. The campuses were then granted greater autonomy to pursue their own mode of development. Two interviewees attested to the dramatic success of this approach:

> During the 1950s no significant changes took place at this campus. However, the new president really shook the place up. He had an innovative liberal arts orientation. He changed many of the lower administrators after he came in order to get aggressive idea men like himself. He wanted administrative assistants who could implement his educational objectives and translate them into budgetary and facilities plans.
>
> When the new president came in 1965, the liberal arts program was not very good. It was still being taught with a teacher education orientation. Therefore, the new president demoted all the old deans and department chairmen and used the new department heads as the key to development...He concentrated on adding top-flight faculty members in senior staff positions. In his first two years, he has hired 51 senior faculty members and 23 department chairmen.

This type of aggressive leadership is obviously the key to the development of many of these institutions. Some of the other Colleges of Arts and Science have developed somewhat more slowly. But as greater resources are funneled into the ten Colleges of Arts and Science, the quality of their undergraduate offering should increase significantly.

The Community College System

Since the end of the 1950s, the bulk of the enrollment increases in New York State have been absorbed by the community colleges. And according to projections, this trend will be greatly extended in the next decade. The first community colleges under the auspices of the State University were opened in 1950 with the establishment of institutions in Jamestown and Orange County. By 1961 there were 19 community colleges, enrolling 21,744 full-time students (Select Committee, 1968). With the growth of these institutions and the addition of a number of others, the enrollment had increased 147 percent by 1966 (53,844). The 1968 Master Plan for the State University lists 36 community colleges (including the six operated by the City University) and recommends a number of additional locations. The State Department of Education estimates that by 1980 about 180,000 students will be enrolled in the community college system.

One of the advantages which the community colleges in New York have had over their counterparts in other states is their affiliation with the State University. They have been clearly allied with higher education from their inception and have been able to ride the coattails of the overall State University growth. The central office has been able to provide invaluable assistance in their development, and this has undoubtedly had positive consequences for the overall educational effectiveness of the community college system.

One deleterious effect of this situation, however, has been the failure of some institutions to respond to the local needs for vocational-technical programs. Many of the community colleges have been so strongly oriented toward liberal arts transfer programs that they have neglected this other important function. If New York's community colleges are to serve the disadvantaged, they will have to make a concerted effort to expand the terminal vocational curricula.

In response to major questions raised by the state government, the Board of Regents, and the State University Trustees concerning the development of the community college system, a study to examine a broad range of major policy questions was commissioned. Specific topics under consideration included: the desirability of continuing the affiliation between the State University and the community colleges, the overlap between the vocational-technical programs offered by the community colleges and high schools, the formulas for financing community colleges (especially the state vs. local district contribution and the need for an equalization formula), and the distribution of authority between the State University and City University regarding the community colleges in New York City. The resolution of these issues will have a fundamental impact on the future educational autonomy of the community college system.

The City University of New York

One of the basic issues which will determine the future educational autonomy of the City University involves the "double bureaucracy" to which the system is currently responsible. Until the 1960s, the City University was almost completely independent from the statewide higher education network. The only direct involvement was through the powers of accreditation and program approval exercised by the Board of Regents. These controls were not exercised vigorously and were apparently of little consequence to the development of the New York City system.

A significant change in this relationship occurred as a result of the planning law in 1961 and the increases in the state's financial aid to the City University in recent years. The Board of Regents is now more actively involved in coordinating the academic development of the City University with that of the State University and the private institutions. The City University is also subject to a review of fiscal plans by state budget officials and other governmental agencies. The following comments in the 1968 Master Plan suggest that the review by both city and state government has led to some problems:

> The City University supports the Regents' expanded formal role in higher education, recognizing that the Regents are the most appropriate board for assessing institutional plans in relation to statewide goals.

> In so doing, the university hopes to avoid the multiple review of City University plans that now exists. For example, the university now submits its Master Plan to the Regents for review and approval, but the city government reexamines such plans in connection with its budget approval, site selection, and capital budgeting procedures. In addition, the State University of New York reviews the plans and budgets of the community colleges...State budget officials also reexamine the City University's plan in their review of the university's budget. The City University looks forward to the time when the Regents' review will be sufficient validation of need, and the review of other governmental agencies can be limited to fiscal and not educational matters. The university also hopes that the regents' evaluation of new proposals will be limited to the identification of need and to judging consistency with statewide plans, leaving to the university the responsibility for identifying how the plans are to be implemented (Board of Higher Education, 1968a).

Several statewide studies in the past have commented upon the undue restrictions imposed on the City University by the New York City government. The City University now also has to answer to state agencies, with the distribution of authority between these two bureaucracies evidently not clearly delineated. As the Board of Regents strengthens its role in master planning and the state funds supporting the City University are augmented, these problems could be further exacerbated.

Like many of the State University campuses, the senior colleges in the City University are being sorely tested by their rapid growth and the expansion of graduate programs. The senior colleges have a long tradition of offering quality undergraduate liberal arts education. According to some faculty, the quality of these programs is being damaged by the emphasis on graduate education. One particularly outspoken advocate of undergraduate education assessed the consequences of this change as follows:

> Building the CUNY system has had more detrimental effects than positive results. The size of the system and the growth of the bureaucracy are causing the undergraduate programs to be shortchanged. Good faculty are drawn off to teach graduate courses. Our class size has increased. All the new facilities are going to graduate programs. Now it seems that all sorts of shortcuts are made in the undergraduate programs in order to foster graduate education. The basic character of this institution is really undergoing a drastic change.

The conflicts within the faculty aroused by the development of graduate programs have been intense in some instances. The recent encouragement of faculty participation has heightened the dissension and forced some administrators to use manipulative tactics, such as the following:

> One problem we've had in upgrading our faculty is that the old-guard opposes the appointment of research-oriented faculty. Consequently, even though at most CUNY campuses the department members elect their own chairman and promote and appoint their own members, we have not adopted this policy because it would have hindered getting good faculty.

Another factor which might have long-range consequences for the educational autonomy of the City University involves the dilemmas of developing an urban focus for the system. The broad spectrum of urban-related programs outlined in the 1968 Master Plan demands considerable resources. With the financial restraints already affecting the City University, it is questionable whether the necessary commitments can be made to these programs without seriously jeopardizing the quality of the existing and proposed graduate and undergraduate programs. The Board of Higher Education is acutely aware of this problem and is currently exploring alternative sources of financial support, such as alumni gifts, federal aid, and tuition charges.

Another issue relevant to the urban focus is the commitment to solving urban problems, which will inevitably draw the City University into intimate relationships with various governmental and community agencies and groups. Eventually the university could become so entangled in and interdependent with the urban institutional complex that it might lose its traditional identity as a disinterested critic and analyst of society. Maybe some parts of the Ivory Tower should be toppled, but serious questions can be raised about how much of the university's traditional independence can fruitfully be sacrificed.

Private Higher Education

In most cases, assessments of educational autonomy have been made on a somewhat indirect and intuitive basis. With respect to the private institutions, however, the available evidence is much more current and complete.

In evaluating the impact of the growth of CUNY and SUNY on private colleges and universities, the Bundy Committee first examined the students in the private institutions. They discovered that while enrollment growth in the private sector was considerably lower than in their public counterparts, it was nevertheless concomitant with the expansion in institutional capacity. Many private institutions evidently chose to grow at a moderate pace or to maintain a stable enrollment, and the conclusion can be drawn that there were no empty classrooms in private institutions as a result of SUNY and CUNY growth. The rising average Scholastic Aptitude Test scores of entering freshmen in private institutions also suggested that private institutions, in general, were able to exercise greater selectivity than formerly. The committee therefore stated that despite widespread impressions to the contrary, the private institutions were not suffering either quantitatively or qualitatively in the competition for students.

After similar examination of the effect of the growth of public higher education on faculty recruitment and financial resources, the committee further surmised that:

> ...there is no present evidence for any conclusion that private institutions as a whole are "losing students" or "pricing themselves out of the market." In individual instances this danger may exist, but in such special cases it could well be useful to ask whether in fact the students who stay away may not be making a good judgment of the quality of what is offered, as against its price (Select Committee, 1968).

The committee was trying to dispel the widely accepted myth, also picked up repeatedly in interviews, that all of the current problems of private institutions are directly attributable to the growth of the State and City Universities. Many private colleges have swallowed the myth to such an extent that their reaction to public higher education was both negative and hostile.

When the impact of the current situation on the educational autonomy of various types of private institutions is analyzed, some interesting contrasts emerge. There are a small number of very high-prestige universities, such as Cornell and Columbia, with their national and international orientation, which are largely unaffected by changes in the statewide system. Another somewhat different group largely immune to statewide influences is composed of very small, prestigious, undergraduate liberal arts colleges, such as Sarah Lawrence and Vassar. The third group of institutions, which includes the majority of private colleges and universities, is much more vulnerable to the influence of the statewide network. The more similar the institutions are to their public counterparts, the more directly they tend to experience the effect of the growth of SUNY and CUNY. This is particularly true in New York because of the late development of the public sector. Before the development of the State University, several private institutions performed an essentially public function. Since the State University's growth, however, they have had to reorient their programs and policies and formulate a new *raison d'être*. Syracuse University and New York University, which most clearly fall into this category, have chosen to cut back on undergraduate enrollment and concentrate on developing and improving graduate and professional programs. This must be considered a temporary solution to a long-range problem, however, since once the State University and City University expand their graduate curricula, Syracuse and N.Y.U. will once again be directly competing with public higher education.

One encouraging factor is that the state-aid program for private higher education will most likely benefit these institutions. And once state funds are involved, greater caution will probably be exercised in establishing competing programs in the public sector. Here again the role of the Board of Regents in coordinating the statewide system is crucial in developing a balanced system of public and private higher education.

Prospects for the Future

In the past decade, major progress has been made in several areas in the development of the statewide higher education network. Enrollments have been significantly increased; the State University has made dramatic strides in creating a comprehensive, public higher education system; the City University has begun to address itself to a variety of urban needs; the state has provided financial support to maintain the strength and vitality of the private institutions; and special programs are being developed throughout the state to extend educational opportunities to the disadvantaged. Despite these achievements, several problems remain unsolved.

One critical decision which bears significantly upon the future of the New York system is the continued existence of two relatively independent public segments. There will probably continue to be periodic attempts to merge the City University and State University as the state's commitment to the City University grows. The two systems have recently developed several cooperative programs and are in the process of exploring further joint activities. The success of these voluntary efforts to increase integration will probably have an important impact on the future independent existence of the City University. If the development of both segments can be coordinated through voluntary means, and if unnecessary competition and duplication can be avoided, there would be little advantage in merging them into one statewide public system.

Another issue difficult to resolve is the role of the Board of Regents in the master planning process. In contrast to most other states, the Regents' role is particularly problematic because of the continuing importance of the private sector in meeting the statewide goals of higher education. Without a fairly precise knowledge of the long-range plans of each of the more than 100 private colleges and universities, the Regents will not be able to coordinate and integrate their development with that of the public institutions. Until the private institutions increase the cooperation among themselves and develop what the Bundy Committee has termed a "third master plan," the Regents will be stifled in their efforts to formulate a truly statewide plan. Their responsibility for distributing the state's financial assistance to private higher education offers them the opportunity for encouraging institutional planning and interinstitutional cooperation.

A third major issue which will require continual attention is the long-range financial support for higher education. As the rising cost of higher education places additional strains on state resources, new methods and sources of support will have to be found. There is a growing concern within the legislature concerning the state's ability to meet the financial demands of the expanding educational system. And the economic system and the general public can be expected to add unrelenting pressures for further increases in both the quantity and the quality of educational offerings. Many observers have predicted that the states will become increasingly dependent on the federal government for monetary assistance. If and when this occurs, the Board of Regents will acquire the additional burden of devising a plan for the distribution of these funds consistent with the orderly development of the statewide system.

And finally, a key problem for the state of New York and all segments of its higher education complex is the provision of educational programs and opportunities to meet past deficiencies and future necessities. For a long period, New York State has relied on private higher education to meet the educational demands of its student population. This was not fully satisfactory, as can be witnessed by the relatively high out-of-state college attendance rates by New York students. The rapid expansion of SUNY and continued growth of CUNY constitute major steps toward correcting this situation. Nevertheless, it seems inevitable that with its late start in developing public higher education coupled with the increasing necessity for meeting the needs of new types of students, New York faces critical times. Adequate program development to meet diverse educational needs and provide for ever-widening education opportunities may be the state's greatest challenge.

VII

Private Higher Education and Statewide Planning

The private colleges and universities in the four states deserve special attention and will be discussed together for several reasons: 1) The nonpublic institutions in all four states face similar educational problems and usually are involved in the state higher education network in similar ways. 2) Institutions generally respond to their generic problems in a similar fashion, and the data from the present study indicate that the colleges and universities conformed to this tendency. 3) The findings with respect to the impact of statewide planning upon different types of colleges and universities are strikingly similar across the states. Therefore, the generic problems of private higher education in general and the special problems of nonpublic institutions in the four states under study will be analyzed within the theoretical framework discussed in Chapter I.

Goal Setting in Private Institutions

Private colleges and universities as a whole cannot be said to have goals in the same sense as public segments. While public institutions of higher learning are unified in the educational functions they are designated to fulfill, at least for broad planning purposes, private institutions are independent entities, each with its own educational objectives and programs, board of trustees, distinct affiliations, student clientele, and sources of funds. It is frequently held that the great strength of private institutions, and the influence they wield on higher education, flow from these qualities of separateness and distinctiveness.

For the purposes of comparative analysis, the nonpublic segment of higher education has been divided into four categories:

International universities refer to institutions with a secure financial base which have an international reputation for the highest levels of scholarship, and recruit faculty and students from the national and international market.

Quasi-public institutions are private universities which are usually independent of religious control, operate in the interests of what is frequently referred to as the "public interest," and compete directly with the large state universities for students and faculty, and to some extent, for resources.

Selective liberal arts colleges refer to four-year colleges which have a high academic reputation, place relatively heavy emphasis on the humanities, fine arts, and general education, and are extremely selective in student admissions.

The *Other* category includes the remaining private institutions--denominational colleges, traditional liberal arts institutions, and a miscellaneous group of special proprietary, technical, and professional schools.

In all four states studied, the general goal of preserving and strengthening the dual system of public and private higher education has been basic to state educational policy and to the promotion of a diversity of educational opportunities. The differences in educational functions between the private and public sectors are largely a matter of degree, not of kind.

Background of Private Education in the Four States

The present position of private colleges and universities in the four states reflects their historical antecedents. In New York, private institutions attempted to satisfy all of the state's higher education needs for more than 200 years, and clearly dominated higher learning there until quite recently.

The dramatic shift in the role of private higher education in New York dates from the Heald Committee Report of 1960. Since then, the state university has developed into a comprehensive system and the private institutions have played a supplementary role. As a consequence of the report, the primary attention of the state government was directed toward the expansion of the public system, and the long-range position and goals of the private sector were neglected. From 1961 to 1967, no statewide agency attempted to define the role of the private sector or to specify limitations on the growth of the state and city universities, nor did private colleges and universities or their representative, the Commission on Independent Colleges and Universities, formulate any collective goals and plans for nonpublic education.

In response to the fear of many private college administrators and supporters that private higher education was being seriously threatened by the rapid development of public higher education, the Bundy Commission was appointed by the Regents and the Governor in the Spring of 1967. Although the commission's main effort was to assess the financial health of private education, it did seek through its recommendations to preserve and strengthen the vitality of these institutions and suggest procedural safeguards by which they might protect their independence.

The history of nonpublic institutions in the state of Illinois is roughly parallel to that of New York. In terms of the number of institutions, number of students enrolled, and types of educational programs offered, private education has contributed importantly to the state's total educational network. Although not as educationally and politically strong as private institutions in New York, those in Illinois have been devoted to the liberal arts, have had the freedom to innovate and experiment, and have been dedicated to fulfilling their academic missions and roles.

Although higher education in Florida and California developed the same general pattern as it did in New York and Illinois, private institutions have played a relatively minor role in state educational policy. The major exceptions to this were the involvement of certain representatives of the private sector in the formation of the 1960 California Master Plan and their continued participation in the work of the Coordinating Council.

Today nonpublic institutions in all states are being forced to respond to the increasingly rapid social and technological change. Fundamental reexaminations of educational objectives, programs, and courses are clearly required. In 1967, Stanford University in California undertook a comprehensive self-study, The Study of Education at Stanford (1969). The topics it covered ranged from the usual concerns about the nature and basic characteristics of the university and undergraduate and graduate education to overseas campuses and programs, education for women, innovation, and the institutionalizing of educational review. The study, completed some two years later, was comprised of ten reports: The Study and Its Purposes; Undergraduate Education; University Residences and Campus Life; Undergraduate Admissions and Financial Aid; Advising and Counseling; The Extra-Curriculum; Graduate Education; Teaching, Research, and the Faculty; Study Abroad; and Government of the University. To date, no concrete restructuring has taken place at Stanford as a result of this very recent report; but this kind of reexamination and reorientation can bring fundamental improvements to private institutions and at the same time serve as a viable planning model for public institutions.

A private institution that has already changed its character as a result of reexamination is MacMurray College, a small liberal arts college in Illinois. At the time of the inauguration of a new president in 1960, MacMurray faced the greatest challenge and most serious financial crisis in its 114-year history. Confronted by growing competition from nearby public institutions which offered similar academic programs at a much lower cost, MacMurray undertook a two-year self-assessment. By 1962, the college had decided to refocus its educational task and become a quality liberal arts undergraduate college, offering only the B.A. degree. This decision resulted in substantial academic and economic savings. Curriculum revision cut back the number of courses from 550 to 267; four undergraduate degree programs were eliminated because vocational and career-oriented programs were no longer consistent with the new MacMurray mission; and the graduate program, undertaken at the close of World War II, was phased out.

Basic to the success of the new academic program was MacMurray's development of a long-range financial plan to support its academic program. It became clear that the college would have to increase the number of full-time students, increase its faculty-student ratio slightly, and substantially raise student tuition. Tuition has increased, from $850 in 1960 to $1600 in 1967, and faculty salaries have increased correspondingly from $6,600 to $10,800. MacMurray realized that such high tuition could reduce the recruitment base of the college, but was prepared to take this risk with the hope of significantly affecting the quality of its program and faculty.

The significance of the MacMurray story (The Case Statement for MacMurray College, 1967) is that it represents what can be done when a college seriously undertakes qualitative academic planning. By refusing to adopt the usual growth model of expansion, MacMurray stood out among the institutions visited as one which, with a long range plan supportive of a new mission, successfully redefined its goals, achieved a new sense of vitality, improved its academic programs, students and faculty, and partially resolved its financial problems.

Closely related to the necessity for reexamining educational objectives is another development that is causing alarm in nonpublic higher education--the major expansions occurring in the public sector. Frequently mentioned as a source of concern by faculty and administrators at private institutions was the necessity to compete with public campuses in the areas of salaries, teaching loads, quality of facilities, and research support.

Nonpublic institutions are also being subject to increasing financial strain. Thus, the private colleges and universities in our study, like those in other parts of the nation, face an unprecedented challenge to reexamine and recast their mission and character.

Educational Integration, Statewide Planning, and Private Higher Education

There are two ways in which the private sector has been integrated into the higher education network--by being included in major statewide planning efforts, and by cooperation, to varying degrees, between private institutions themselves and between private institutions and public ones.

In each of the four states, private colleges and universities have formed some kind of association to promote their interests. The detailed activities of these associations have been presented in the state case studies. It is important here to note again that such associations, especially in New York, Illinois, and California, have occasionally been involved in statewide planning and coordinating efforts. Yet these associations face a different task in their efforts to provide a unifying voice for the private sector in overall statewide planning. Some illustrative comments from the data on the Illinois Federation of Independent Colleges and Universities make this point. One representative from the nonpublic sector put it this way:

> The federation is essentially a do-nothing collection of small sectarian private colleges in Illinois. Most of the federation members couldn-t care less about statewide problems and planning. The goal of the federation is to keep the public expansion and competition down as best it can. Statewide planning is a threat to the privacy of their budget operations.

Another nonpublic representative remarked on the federation's past role:

> Private institutions must critically reexamine themselves today. The federation is weak and its members can't agree among themselves. The federation is blind to the kind of leadership it could exert.

An observer of nonpublic education put the issues in a national context:

> The federation has not done the job of marshalling the evidence to show where the state is losing money and where the state could improve its educational position by using the facilities of the privates. It is certainly cheaper to do the latter than to build new institutions from scratch. The land grant colleges have come up with an excellent brochure called Margin for Excellence to persuade private donors to provide that money margin for quality education. This is good public relations and development. The

> private sector needs to develop its own national organization and a brochure called Margin for Survival.

It is clearly recognized that the federation is at a critical juncture in its role as speaker for the nonpublic sector. Within the next few years the federation is expected to raise member dues so that it can hire staff of high quality and develop a more sophisticated program for nonpublic institutions. It has taken several years for nonpublic institutions in the state to understand more fully the impact of the statewide plans on their institutions.

Between 1967 and 1969, New York, Illinois, and California undertook major studies of the private sector. These studies, known as the Bundy Commission (New York, 1968), the McConnell Commission (Illinois, 1969), and the McKinsey Report (California, 1968), were designed to assess how a viable state system of higher education could be maintained as well as facilitate long-range planning and educational policy at the statewide level. Although these major studies focused primarily on financial problems (to be discussed in the next section), there were some recommendations about the ways in which the private sector could be more fully integrated into the statewide planning enterprise. For example, several of the Bundy Commission's recommendations were directed toward strengthening the role of the Board of Regents and the State Department of Education planning staff (Select Committee, 1968). Thus, it suggested that when new or expanded programs are required, the Board of Regents should consider "contracting with private institutions as an equally attractive alternative to expansion of public institutions." In the state of Florida, Stander (1969) made a study of private institutions in conjunction with the work of the Select Council on Post High-School Education.

The Private Sector and Statewide Planning

The 1960 California Master Plan made the goal of educational pluralism explicit when it recommended establishment of a statewide coordinating council on which private institutions would have direct representation, and stressed the necessary partnership of private and public institutions if increasing enrollments were to be accommodated. A significant boost in the number of state scholarships also was proposed in the Master Plan, an important development since the great majority of students who receive these scholarships use them to attend nonpublic colleges and universities.

Possibly of greater importance, however, were other provisions of the Master Plan. The recommendation that nonpublic institutions be represented on the Coordinating Council for Higher Education, established in 1961, meant that direct competition between sectors would be minimized, since both sectors would be equally well-informed about plans. In addition, the survey team's final position on differentiation of functions was important to the nonpublic colleges. That the University of California would have sole responsibility for doctoral study, professional education, and basic research was reassuring to the large, comprehensive nonpublic universities, which had feared that some state colleges would move into these advanced levels. If the drive of state colleges toward becoming comprehensive universities had remained unchecked, public higher education would have assumed such a dominant position that it would have presented a major competitive threat to nonpublic institutions.

In the other three states, the interests of private institutions of higher learning are represented in the following ways: In Illinois, through participation in master plan study committees and an advisory committee to the Board of Higher Education; in New York, through membership in the Board of Regents and the activities of the Commission on Independent Colleges and Universities; in Florida, where private institutions are not formally tied to the statewide structure, through their individual institutions or their organization, Independent Colleges and Universities of Florida.

Educational Integration of Private Institutions--Untapped Potential

Although this research does not permit systematic assessment of the extent of cooperation engaged in between private institutions and between private and public institutions, the data collected indicate that neither statewide planning nor large scale efforts by the segments were directed toward encouraging cooperation. This general conclusion is supported by evidence collected in all three of the recent state-authorized studies of private higher education. Thus the Bundy Commission's Select Committee (1968), in its survey of this issue, concluded: "We find little evidence of inter-institutional cooperation on the scale necessary to achieve significant educational and economic advantages." The McKinsey Report (1968) echoed this statement, and the McConnell Commission (1969) also recognized the difficulties of educational cooperation and sought to provide a context for understanding such deficiencies:

> It recognizes clearly the difficulties which such programs often encounter, arising from inertia, preoccupation, desire for autonomy and individual identity, shortage of time and money. Yet it feels that there is potential for strengthening and enriching programs, for improving services, and perhaps even for economizing resources in joint ventures /p. 57/.

Even though the general picture of educational cooperation between institutions on a significant scale has not so far been impressive, each state has made a few efforts which illustrate how the potential for joint educational ventures can be tapped.

In New York, evidence of the spirit of cooperation was recently revealed by a recommendation for the establishment of a coordinated regional network of public and private institutions in the mid-Hudson Valley. The proposal resulted from a study of the region's higher educational needs which was commissioned by the state university. The preliminary plan calls for: 1) the creation by the state university of a Hudson Valley Graduate Center, to be administered and operated cooperatively by existing private institutions and the state university; 2) the establishment of a mid-Hudson Educational Services Secretariat to help all private and public institutions of the area in the joint planning of programs and the sharing of resources; and 3) the creation of a Regional Higher Education Planning Council to engage in a continuing planning and review of the quantity and quality of higher education in the region. If this plan is implemented, it will set an important precedent for integrating public and private institutions in other parts of New York State (Rovetch, 1968). A similar kind of joint educational venture, the Quad Cities Project now in operation in Illinois, was discussed in the chapter devoted to the Illinois case study.

One of the most extensive and interesting forms of interinstitutional cooperation within the private segment is the federation of institutions known as Claremont Colleges in California. The Claremont Colleges include six independent colleges in close physical proximity, but each with its own campus and separate legal identity. Each has its own president and Board of Trustees, appoints its own faculty, admits its own students, and establishes its own curriculum and degree requirements.

The federation is unified through a variety of central services (public information, business office, planning, library, auditorium, maintenance shops) and substantive programs (student registration across colleges and a cooperative graduate center). Since 1944, a system has evolved whereby each college president in rotation serves as Provost of Claremont Colleges and presides over meetings of the Intercollegiate Council, which consists of trustees, administrators, and faculty from each college (The Claremont Colleges, 1962).

There have also been several instances recently of public and private institutions working together on the challenge presented by the urban crisis. Representative of state efforts along this line is The Greater Los Angeles Consortium for Urban Affairs in California, which involves the California State College, Los Angeles, Occidental College, Whittier College, Claremont Graduate Center, and Loyola University. Farther north, in the San Francisco area, two interinstitutional cooperative programs have been developed to meet the urban crisis. The University of San Francisco, San Francisco State College, Golden Gate College, San Francisco City College, and the University of California Medical School are attempting to attack urban problems together. And the Coordinating Council for Bay Area Health and Allied Professions involves the above institutions plus several hospitals in plans to pool resources for training more people, especially in the para-medical fields.

Many interviewees expressed a concern about the need for additional cooperative programming and academic alliances between private colleges and universities. The following statement by an administrator of a private college illustrates this point of view:

> . . .A critical issue is the increasing importance of cooperation between private institutions and those of the public sector. It is unrealistic for every institution to attempt to develop its own libraries, research institutes, and other basic educational facilities. It would be useful if there was a great deal more cooperation among the institutions of higher education which are located in the same area. Neighboring institutions should share as many basic facilities as possible. This is being done by some institutions now but a great deal more of such cooperation will be needed in the future.

In sum, the paucity of large scale joint academic programs in the four states is clearly evident. Thus, statewide and segment planners and policymakers face a major responsibility for fostering the educational integration of different kinds of colleges and university endeavors more systematically and on a larger scale.

The Finances of Private Higher Education

Private colleges and universities in the four states studied face the same problems that private higher education encounters nationally. Because of the rapid expansion of public higher education during the past 15 years, private institutions have increased their efforts to find new ways to protect their own interests and secure, if possible, additional public support. In 1967, all four states had constitutions which specifically prohibited public support to church-related institutions. Historically, the private sector has relied upon endowments, alumni support, gifts, student tuition, and more recently, certain forms of federal aid. In New York and Illinois especially, the state gave indirect aid to private higher education principally through substantial state scholarship and loan programs.

The interview data collected in 1967 indicated that the problem of financial insecurity for private colleges and universities was reaching a peak of concern. Private institutions, with increasing tuitions, were competing with public ones, with minimal tuitions, for private gifts and donations, and for students. They were also faced with the necessity for securing an adequate state scholarship and loan program.

It was difficult to obtain systematic data or reliable information to substantiate the claims made by representatives of private institutions. Their assertions about being "hurt" by the fund-raising activities of public institutions, by the establishment of new public campuses, or by certain programs offered by a public institution, could not be supported by very much hard evidence. This is not to say that evidence does not exist, but only to suggest that the problem is sufficiently complex so that no simple set of statistics could be marshalled for or against the private sector's case. Soon after the major field work phase of data collection had been completed, California, Florida, Illinois, and New York all appointed special commissions or study groups to assess this complex problem and provide their states with some answers. Following are the highlights of these studies and an overview of each state's financial situation.

California: Survival in the Face of the Public Higher Education Juggernaut

Since private higher education has less of a foothold in California than in New York or Illinois (i.e., there are fewer institutions and smaller enrollments in proportion to the total educational enterprise), the financial condition of private institutions may be more precarious. Although the private sector is represented on the Coordinating Council, it has largely been through the efforts of the Association for Independent California Colleges and Universities (AICCU) that the interests of private colleges and universities have been actively supported. The major activities of the AICCU have centered around the state scholarship program--publicizing the role of private higher education in the state, supporting bond issues for public higher education, and holding workshops, most recently to discuss the historic Maryland court case on state aid to private education.

Compared with the Illinois or New York programs, the California scholarship program is small, with about 7400 awards granted in 1966. Because of this limited state effort, the AICCU has sought legislation which would increase the number of scholarships to a fixed percentage of high school graduates every year, and in 1965 the legislature approved a bill which provided scholarships for one percent of graduating high school students. Even with this successful effort, the magnitude of the problem is such that many private college leaders look to the federal government to provide the needed funds.

Private institutions in California face an increasingly precarious financial future. In a special study conducted for AICCU, McKinsey and Company (1968) reported to the Joint Committee on Higher Education of the California Legislature:

> It is becoming increasingly difficult for independent institutions of higher learning to maintain their relative level of participation in the state of California and to provide the distinctive academic and living environments they have traditionally offered. For the AICCU as a whole, costs per student have increased at the rate of 7 percent annually in the past 5 years, and it is generally predicted that per-student costs will increase at the same rate for at least the next 5 years. . ./pp. 1-4/.

One of the major objectives of the McKinsey study was to assist AICCU institutions in "developing realistic projections for the next 10 years of the programs and related resources required." The report strongly emphasized that institutions develop clear statements of purpose and goals. Translating the costs into projections of expenditures and revenues for the next 5 to 10 years, the report estimated that this deficit would reach $56 million in 1973 and $127 million by 1978. The report explored new sources of funding to overcome these projected deficits, and concluded that the AICCU probably will have to rely more on increased federal funds, since the additional state funds available in the future were not considered sufficient to ease the expected financial strains.

Florida: "Every Man for Himself"

In Florida, private colleges and universities have traditionally operated independently of one another. Although individually these institutions face the same problems that private colleges everywhere face, there have been very few efforts to introject the problems of the private sector into statewide planning or state policy with respect to financial support for higher education. The major exceptions to this situation were the state grants to the University of Miami to support medical students at $4,500 per year and advanced students in oceanography at $2,000 per year.

A state scholarship program exists, but is not well supported. And while the 1965 legislature created a Florida Regents Scholarship program designed to award scholarships to the top five percent of all high school students in the state, in 1965 and 1966 the legislature appropriated only $10,000 to carry out the purposes of the program--an average of about $1.50 each for the more than 6,000 eligible students. In 1967, the legislature authorized $2.2 million of a Board of Regents request for over $2.6 million to support the scholarship program.

Although private institutions are represented through the Independent Colleges and Universities of Florida and the Associated Mid-Florida Colleges, these associations are relatively weak and loosely organized, and have not pushed for long-range financial planning. As a consequence, private colleges and universities in Florida are not formally incorporated into the higher education network, nor have they participated significantly in state master planning efforts.

Those interviewed at private institutions expressed general apprehension about the consequences of the massive expansion of the public segment which offered higher education with no tuition and only low "matriculation fees." Specific fears were expressed about competition in such fields as oceanography, engineering, medicine, and continuing education. More vague concerns were related to whether the private institution could attract good students and quality faculty. In almost all instances, fears centered around the availability of financial resources and the lack of interest shown by educators in public education in the future of private higher education in Florida.

In partial response to these problems, the 1967 legislature created a Select Council on Post-High-School Education (SCOPE) to study and recommend to the State Board of Education and the legislature appropriate proposals for coordinating and developing all types of higher education. As a part of the broader SCOPE study, private colleges and universities were asked to respond to a SCOPE questionnaire about their operation. In addition, an interview study of over 80 top administrators at 20 independent colleges and universities was begun late in 1968. Formulated to elicit the perceptions of the administrators about the present status and future direction of independent higher education in Florida, this survey was completed by Summer 1969. Preliminary results from the interviews conducted were summarized in a status report:

> It is clearly evident that the educational, economic, and social impact of the independent college in this state has not been fully appreciated nor supported as an ally or complement to the state-supported system of post-high-school education in Florida. Furthermore, it is evident to the administrators that prior to the establishment of the Select Council on Post-High-School Education and the funding of this study that the independent institutions had very little voice in any future statewide master planning. Finally, it must be pointed out that support from the administrators for this study has been overwhelming but the administrators vigorously stress the importance of seriously considering the results and that action be forthcoming [SCOPE, 1969].

The major SCOPE Report was completed in time for the 1969 legislative session and prior to the completion of the Independent College Study. The Select Council recommended that during its extended existence SCOPE should serve as the planning agency under which independent colleges will be served, develop the policies to govern the relationship between private and public institutions, and recommend the structures to implement these policies. The Select Council also recommended that the Regents Scholarship Program be extended downward to include the upper 15 percent of high school graduates, that a committee be appointed to coordinate programs in public and private institutions, and that SCOPE both sponsor a study to assess the possibility of obtaining state funds for construction and draw up a program for equalizing tuition in independent institutions.

Illinois: Beyond the State Scholarship Program

Private colleges and universities in Illinois constitute almost as significant a part of the state's higher education network as they do in New York. When the master planning activities of the Board of Higher Education in the 1960s led to a dramatic development of the public colleges and universities, the private sector began to exert pressure for increased support.

Although the Illinois constitution specifically prohibits public aid to church-affiliated institutions, the state in part responded to the nonpublic sector by establishing scholarship and loan programs which allow student recipients to attend the college of their choice. State funds for the scholarship and grant program have increased from $600,000 in the 1961 biennium to $29.8 million in the 1967 biennium. For the loan program, the state funds correspondingly increased from $500,000 during the 1965 biennium to over $9 million during the 1967 biennium. Since 85 percent of these funds are awarded to students who attend nonpublic colleges and universities, these institutions consider this form of state aid helpful.

As a result of the controversies over the 1967 proposals for new institutions, the governor and the legislature created a commission to study Nonpublic Higher Education (known as the McConnell Commission) and report to the state on the financial condition of private education. In contrast to the findings of the Bundy Commission, the McConnell Commission found much evidence that operating surpluses in most private institutions were small and declining. Within a few years, the commission predicted, deficits so debilitating would occur that some institutions probably would not survive. To preserve and strengthen the dual system of private and public higher education, the commission recommended that the state "made direct grants-in-aid to the nonpublic institutions according to a formula based on total undergraduate enrollments." The formula for state aid was so designed as to improve the quality rather than the enrollment capacity of private higher education by awarding larger grants to those institutions enrolling state scholarship and grant recipients.

The commission estimated that a total of $14 million would be needed during the 1969-70 fiscal year for eligible private institutions. But the legislature was unwilling to accept the proposals contained in the McConnell Report and failed to provide the needed funds for nonpublic higher education.

New York: The Changing Balance of Private and Public Higher Education

The development of state aid to private higher education in New York is instructive with respect to the changing balance between private and public higher education. Early in the twentieth century there was considerable discussion about creating a state university in New York. Private institutions naturally feared that this decision would have dire consequences for them and opposed the idea. To resolve the controversy, the legislature, upon recommendation of the Board of Regents, established the first state scholarship program. The program provided $100 a year (the average full tuition cost at the time) for four years to 3,000 students. For some 20 years thereafter the state contribution to private higher education consisted solely of this $300,000 annual scholarship program. During the 1930s, '40s and '50s, several increases in the number and size of the individual grants were enacted by the legislature.

The creation and slow development of the state university from 1948 to 1960 did not significantly change the financial status of the private colleges and universities. Realizing the value of private higher education and the possibly adverse effect that SUNY's development might have upon private institutions in the early 1960s, the Heald Committee proposed in 1960 that the state inaugurate a program of direct aid to private colleges consisting of per capita grants to each institution for each student graduated with a degree. However, the Heald proposal was rejected and, after intense public debate, the legislature passed a Scholar Incentive Program in its place. The major purpose of this program was to provide financial assistance to any able student in need of it. It was also viewed as a means of providing indirect aid to private colleges and universities.

In the first six years (1961-1967), New York invested $144 million in the Scholar Incentive Program. Although these funds have provided important help to students, they did not provide state monies directly to private institutions *per se*. Private institutions complained bitterly that SUNY's development had lowered the quality of both the students and faculty they were able to recruit, and that their financial condition was becoming serious enough to endanger their very existence. As a result, many of these institutions were much more amenable to direct state aid than they had been when it was originally proposed by the Heald Report in 1960, and by 1967 pressures were building up again in various quarters for reconsideration of a state aid program to private institutions.

A considerable number of legislators were now also reviewing the role of the state *vis a vis* private institutions. They were concerned over the tremendously rapid increase in the state university budget, and some were beginning to feel that direct aid to the private institutions might provide an alternative to further expansion of SUNY or at least might serve to slow down SUNY's development somewhat. Another aspect of this controversy was that some of the legislators felt that their role with respect to higher education had been eclipsed by the Republican governor's strong influence. Members of the Democratic Party were particularly concerned about reasserting their influence over higher education in the legislature.

In response to a combination of these forces, the governor and the regents created the Select Committee on the Future of Private and Independent Higher Education in the spring of 1967. In 1968, the Select Committee conducted the first relatively comprehensive study of the actual financial condition of New York's private institutions, and came to a surprising conclusion:

> We began our inquiry in the face of a widespread belief that private higher education, in New York as elsewhere, faced an immediate crisis of disastrous proportions. We have not been able to substantiate this notion; and indeed one of our more important findings is that no one really knows precisely the exact financial condition of New York's private colleges and universities. Our own best judgment is that their needs are real and important but in most cases not desparate /p. 3/.

Though the committee rejected the notion that the private institutions were in a period of crisis, they recommended that, "The moderate but real level of present need now calls for direct assistance from New York State to private colleges and universities." The aid program suggested was similar to the earlier proposal made by the Heald Committee; grants were to be based on the number of degrees conferred by each institution. In addition, the committee recommended that the state constitution be amended to allow grants to sectarian institutions to support nonreligious degree programs.

On May 24, 1968, the legislature passed a bill to establish a direct financial aid program for private higher education, to total about $33 million during the program's first year of operation. A companion bill to amend the constitution so that church-affiliated colleges could be included in the program was rejected by a legislative committee.

The implementation of the major proposal of the Bundy Committee represents an historic step in the development of higher education in New York. Whether it will destroy the freedom and the independence of private institutions, as some fear, or help to maintain a more balanced system of private and public colleges remains to be seen.

Educational Autonomy in Private Higher Education

The foregoing analysis of statewide planning addressed itself to goal-setting, educational integration, and financing of private higher education. The following discussion is concerned with assessing the effect, both of planning and the development of public higher education, upon the educational autonomy of private colleges and universities, i.e., upon the ability of such a college or university to establish desired educational programs and curricula, obtain the required students, faculty, and staff, and secure the necessary resources (finances and facilities) to carry on its educational task.

The private institutions in the four states will be discussed by type, as defined earlier in the chapter.

International Private Universities. There are private institutions of the international type in three of the four states studied--Stanford and the California Institute of Technology in California, the University of Chicago in Illinois, and Columbia and Cornell Universities in New York. It is obvious from the definition of this type of institution that it would be expected to have a high degree of educational autonomy, and the data confirm this expectation. These institutions have been minimally involved in statewide planning activities and have not been affected by developments in the public sector. Very frequently, their frame of reference effectively excludes local and statewide developments. When asked about the significance of the 1960 California Master Plan for Stanford University, one administrator replied:

> We were not affected by this document or its outcomes. Sure, the scholarships are important to us, but other parts of it have little import to us. Another private institution. . . is in a much more vulnerable position since they are much like public universities, and therefore in competition with them. We look outside the state and internationally for our students and faculty.

Similarly, a University of Chicago administrator characterized the situation in Illinois:

> Since the University of Chicago is essentially a graduate institution and very selective, public expansion has not seriously hampered or affected our development. We are a national and international university. However, the University of Illinois has as many graduate students as we and they do compete with us for good students in engineering and the sciences. They offer good programs in special education and we offer nothing along this line. Thus, we must choose what we do and do it well.

While such comments reveal the position of the international private university, they also indicate that these institutions are not entirely free of constraints or of the impact of public higher education. Since many of these private universities are strong in graduate education, the emerging developments in public graduate education, which will gain considerable strength by the mid-1970s, may provide a serious challenge to the preeminence of the international institution in this area. However, the private international university has continued to maintain high autonomy in the face of the rapid changes of the postwar period and is likely to continue this way in the forseeable future.

Quasi-Public Private Institutions. The levels of autonomy found in these private institutions varied widely. Included in this category were the University of Southern California in California; the University of Miami, the University of Tampa, and Jacksonville University in Florida; Northwestern University, Roosevelt University, Bradley University, Loyola University, De Paul University, and the Illinois Institute of Technology in Illinois; and Rochester, Syracuse, Fordham, St. Johns, Long Island, Hofstra, and New York Universities in New York.

Quasi-public private institutions are especially vulnerable to the expansion in public higher education. Since they perform many of the same educational tasks as state-supported institutions and thus operate in what is often referred to as the "public-interest," these institutions have become engaged in competitive struggles with public institutions for students, faculty, programs, and community services, especially when new public institutions are located nearby.

The impact of the expanding public sector on private higher education is difficult to unravel from the concomitant increase in financial problems. How much the expansion of public institutions affects any one private institution depends, of course, on a variety of factors, such as: financial solvency, geographic proximity of the state institution to the private college, geographic source of students and faculty, uniqueness of educational programs, and general image and status in the academic community. The weaker the financial base of a private institution, and the more closely its character parallels that of existing or planned public institutions, the more difficult it will be for the quasi-public institution to remain intact. It is conversions of quasi-public institutions to publicly supported and controlled institutions that tend to make national news, and one needs only to recall a few such instances, such as the University of Buffalo, the University of Pittsburgh, the University of Toledo, and the University of Kansas City, to realize the importance of this conversion phenomenon.

In discussing the plight of the quasi-public type of institution, Bowen (1968) stated:

> To be sure, no major university has had to close down, and not even the most pessimistic observer would forecast the demise of any of these institutions within the foreseeable future. But survival in some form or other is hardly the test of well-being. The danger is not that the major private universities will disappear, but that they will be unable to continue to meet their current responsibilities, let alone to develop in step with national needs /p. 4/.

In California, where only the University of Southern California fit the quasi-public category, it was found that the institution's level of educational autonomy had changed from high to medium. This institution seemed particularly vulnerable to a cluster of forces which are impinging upon its historically high autonomy. Many interviewees expressed great concern about the growth of nearby University of California campuses (UCLA, Irvine) and the surrounding state and junior colleges. One administrator said:

> USC watches the other segments to determine where they are going and what kind of programs they are planning. Then USC decides to compete in those areas where they feel they can develop different programs. As a result of the growth of the state colleges, USC has emphasized graduate education. There are some areas where there is room for competition. For example, medical schools is one area because of the high need for doctors throughout the state. But in service oriented professions there really isn't much room for competition--thus these kinds of high cost programs must be localized at particular campuses.

The University of Southern California has felt the impact from the growth of public higher education, especially at the undergraduate level, and is particularly concerned about competition from the public administration and engineering programs being developed at UC-Irvine. In the extension service area, the competittion has made it increasingly difficult for USC to attract part-time students. There was also fear expressed that the state colleges would engage in more direct efforts at private fund-raising, which may tap USC's traditional sources. Thus, since USC has clearly encountered difficulties in preserving its historic independence in the face of the rapid growth of the public sector and competition over educational programs, students, and to some extent, faculty, its level of educational autonomy was rated as medium.

The level of educational autonomy in the three quasi-public institutions in Florida was high. They have successfully expanded their own operations up to the present and, in general, have not been hurt by the expanding public system. One important reason for the high degree of autonomy is the fact that there are no major public universities in the Miami and Jacksonville areas. However, the legislature has authorized the development of new public universities for these cities which will be in operation in the early 1970s.

The quasi-public institutions have expressed concern about the future impact of the expanding public system, but at this time such fears are still unfounded. It is true that the University of Miami feels it has been forced into giving upper division courses and more graduate and professional programs because public institutions are giving an increasing proportion of the undergraduate curriculum. And Miami also has felt pushed into competing with the rapid and massive expansion of Miami-Dade Junior College, with public institutions throughout the state in the areas of continuing education and summer sessions, and with the extension center opened in Miami by Florida Atlantic University.

Actually, however, there is little evidence to support a view that the public institutions' programs have developed sufficient size and scope to threaten the educational autonomy of Florida's quasi-public institutions.

The six quasi-public institutions in Illinois have been especially vulnerable to the expansion of public higher education for several reasons. The strained relationship between public and private higher education dates to a traditional struggle over who was going to serve the educational needs of Chicago. Ever since the late nineteenth century, private institutions dominated the Chicago area and served all the higher education needs of the city. But with the implementation of the 1964 Master Plan, the establishment of a state-supported junior college system, the conversion and expansion of former teachers' colleges into urban state colleges, the development of the University of Illinois Chicago Circle campus, and the authorization of a new senior institution, the private universities in Chicago found themselves engaged in a competitive struggle for programs, students, faculty, and finances.

A case in point that demonstrates the relationship between public and private institutions is that of the development of the Chicago Circle campus of the University of Illinois. For many years, the quasi-public institutions had been watching the growth of the Navy Pier operation (a two-year program started by the University of Illinois in 1946) and its subsequent evolution into the Chicago Circle campus. In the early 1960s, these institutions reached an informal agreement that the University of Illinois branch would neither become a residential campus nor offer evening programs, graduate work, or engineering degrees. Several of the quasi-public institutions, particularly Roosevelt University, faced serious planning problems, however, because each time they decided to change their educational mission, the Chicago Circle also changed and offered competing programs.

Reassessments were necessary for quasi-public institutions when the University of Illinois branch shifted from an exclusively two-year program to an expanded four-year curriculum, and more recently to a heavy emphasis upon graduate work and selected professional programs. Part of the planning problem derived from the conservative assessments made by nonpublic institutions of the future population and enrollment markets in the Chicago area. Yet part of the effect of the vast expansion in public higher education in Chicago is seen in the enrollment data for fall 1968. It is true that several of Chicago's quasi-public institutions experienced slight drops in their undergraduate enrollments over the preceding year, and that others maintained about the same number of students (Froehlich, 1968), but the next few years will determine whether the fears of quasi-public institutions were well-founded or whether the enrollment changes merely reflected certain year-by-year fluctuations.

Although Illinois' quasi-public institutions are still autonomous in the traditional sense that any nonpublic institution has control over its own development, they have begun much more careful reappraisals of their future plans for growth. They are realizing more than ever the extent to which their plans about which programs they should be offering and which students they should be serving are responsive to the public institutions. Therefore, since the evolution of the public sector in Illinois is placing certain constraints upon the quasi-public institutions, their educational autonomy is classified as medium and in some cases low.

Private higher education in New York is in a stronger and more secure position than in the other three states in this study. Even so, there is growing concern that the rapid developments in SUNY and CUNY portend serious difficulties for private higher education. One of the tasks of the Bundy Commission was to evaluate the impact upon private institutions of the growth of SUNY and CUNY.

Looking at the enrollment growth in the private sector, the commission found that although it was considerably lower than that in their public counterparts, enrollments were concomitant with the expansion in institutional capacity. The Select Committee (1968) stated that many private institutions chose to grow at a moderate pace or to maintain a stable enrollment, and according to projections, by 1980 private institutions will still enroll over half of the four-year college population. This level of enrollment contrasts sharply with the 10 to 25 percent of students enrolled in private institutions in other states, and is testimony to the fact that there were no empty classrooms in private institutions as a result of SUNY's and CUNY's growth.

With respect to the quality of students, the Bundy Commission surmised, on the basis of the rising average of Scholastic Aptitude Test scores of entering freshmen in private institutions, that these institutions were able to exercise greater selectivity than formerly. Therefore, despite widespread impressions to the contrary, it was concluded that the private institutions were not suffering either quantitatively or qualitatively in the competition for students.

After similar examination of the effect of the growth of public higher education on faculty recruitment and financial resources, the Select Committee

(1968) wrote:

> . . .there is no present evidence for any conclusion that private institutions as a whole are "losing students" or "pricing themselves out of the market." In individual instances this danger may exist, but in such special cases it could well be useful to ask whether in fact the students who stay away may not be making good judgment of the quality of what is offered, as against its price /p. 36/.

The committee was trying to dispel the widely accepted myth, often expressed by interviewees, that all of the current problems of private institutions are directly attributable to the growth of the state university and city university. Many private colleges have swallowed the myth to such an extent that their reaction to public higher education is both negative and actively hostile.

On the whole, the Select Committee found that the private institutions were healthier than had been anticipated, and postulated that their financial difficulties evidently resulted in part from poor management and lack of long-range planning. This passivity is in interesting contrast to the behavior of the quasi-public institutions which, since the growth of SUNY, have had to reorient their educational programs and policies. Such institutions as Syracuse University and New York University have chosen to cut back on undergraduate enrollment and are developing and improving graduate and professional programs. This is only a temporary solution to a long range problem, however; once SUNY and CUNY expand their graduate curricula, Syracuse and NYU will again be competing with public higher education.

The state-aid program for private higher education will most likely offset some of these difficulties. With state funds supporting these institutions, greater caution will probably be exercised in establishing competing programs in the public sector. Again the role of the Board of Regents will be crucial in developing a balanced system of public and private higher education.

Selective Liberal Arts Colleges

Selective liberal arts colleges are somewhat similar to the international private universities. Representative of this type of institution are the Claremont Colleges in California, Florida Presbyterian College in Florida, Knox College and Shimer College in Illinois, and Sarah Lawrence, Vassar, and Bard in New York. Since these institutions emphasize the humanities, fine arts, and general education, are known for their high academic standards, and are highly selective in student admissions, it was expected and confirmed that they would have high educational autonomy.

These institutions have been minimally involved in statewide planning activities, have generally not been affected by developments in the public sector, and have zealously controlled their growth to maintain a personalized intellectual community and a unique identity.

The educational situation of the selective liberal arts college is well described in the following excerpts from statements by a faculty member and an administrator at Florida Presbyterian College:

> Faculty member: FPC is so oriented outside the local region that the immediate educational problems really don't concern us. We measure ourselves against institutions at a distance. For example, such benchmarks as Antioch, Swarthmore, Reed, Oberlin, Carleton, and similar types of colleges would be worthy comparisons.
>
> Administrator: The growth of the public sector of higher education in this state has had no effect at all on us. We simply are not competing with them. If we were trying to develop a mediocre institution, we would have a problem. But our competition is outside the state, for example, Yale,

> Princeton, Harvard, and similar institutions. The whole state system can't hurt us. . .the only possible problem that may come up in the near future involves the potential impact of the public institutions dipping into private funds. As the state university and the junior college develop foundations to bring in private monies, then problems may arise for FPC.

The selective liberal arts colleges do not consider the public sector to be an immediate threat to their existence because their programs are different and their students are willing to pay for educational uniqueness. Therefore, historically the educational autonomy of these institutions has been high and continues to be quite high.

Other Private Institutions

The remaining private institutions are by far the most numerous and most disparate in character. Included in this category of institutions are the denominational colleges, traditional liberal arts institutions, private junior colleges, and a miscellaneous group of special proprietary, technical, and professional schools. These institutions range widely in size, educational functions, type of student, quality of program, religious affiliation, and source of financial support. The design of the study was such that only a few institutions in this category were visited, most of these being either traditional liberal arts colleges or private junior colleges, all of which together enroll a relatively small percentage of the total number of students in private higher education. Therefore, the evaluation of the educational autonomy of this type of institution was based more on impressions and speculations than it was for the other types. Comments from Stetson University, in Florida, well illustrate some of the fears and realities that face the traditional liberal arts college group. Staff at Stetson claimed that the expansion of the public sector, the junior colleges, and the state universities, is making inroads into their traditionally more placid existence. In the words of one administrator:

> The big problem of the private institutions is the growth of the state system. It is competing with the privates and it is now a problem of survival for us. The expanding enrollment of the junior colleges and even the four-year institutions is beginning to affect our enrollment. Many of the private colleges are reducing the lower divisions and building at the upper division level. Even though students pay some tuition when they attend junior colleges, it might just be cheaper for a student or parents to send their children to a junior college for the first two years and then send them to Stetson for the last two years.

Another administrator emphasized the need for Stetson to look for out-of-state students, and he stressed the necessity for Stetson University to offer a unique educational program:

> We have the largest percentage of in-state students of all the private institutions in Florida except for Jacksonville University. About 60% of our students come from Florida. But Stetson as well as other private institutions are going to have a more and more difficult time ahead in attracting students as the new state universities open and expand with better facilities and much less expense to students and parents. It is very hard for us to compete with the faculty salaries offered and the equipment provided at state universities. We would really have to raise our tuition substantially to do this. So Stetson must do things differently by offering a unique educational experience, recruiting students more widely, and focus on innovation. . .Stetson is at a critical point and we must create a distinctiveness for this institution as compared to public colleges.

Similar to the public sector's impact on the quasi-public institution has been the impact of the public sector's expansion on the traditional liberal arts college. Although difficulty in maintaining enrollment patterns was occurring on a much smaller scale at several of these institutions (like MacMurray College in Illinois or Rollins College in Florida), an enrollment drop of 50 to 100 students produced small operating deficits. Like the quasi-public institutions, the small traditional liberal arts college could well benefit from a modest state-aid program to private higher education. These institutions do benefit from enlarged scholarship and loan programs and the federal funds available for construction purposes. Thus, the expansion of the public sector and the growing financial strains placed upon these institutions have highlighted the importance of institutional planning. Many of these colleges are currently undertaking a critical reappraisal of their mission, role, student clientele, and financial support. In most cases, then, these institutions have lost some of their historical educational autonomy.

The small denominational institutions which generally have a fairly secure constituency evidently have neither encountered infringements upon their educational autonomy nor experienced sharp losses of financial support. These denominational institutions have not shown much interest in statewide planning activities and have preferred to concentrate their efforts on preserving and enhancing their own institutions. For this category of nonpublic institutions, the level of educational autonomy was found to be generally high. There were some, however, with insecure and changing constituencies, which seemed more vulnerable to the expanding public system. Several of these institutions, feeling their educational autonomy in jeopardy, have engaged in significant academic planning efforts as a way of reassessing their own distinctiveness and prospects for the future.

Some Conclusions About Private Higher Education

Much of this chapter has focused upon the quasi-public private university because this type of institution is so integral to much of private higher education (with student bodies of from 5,000 to 20,000 students). Interviews at quasi-public institutions repeatedly uncovered a pattern of organizational development which had serious consequences for this type of institution. Because the quasi-public institution is most directly in competition with state universities and has adopted its growth model, it has been forced to react to the new plans of development in public higher education and shift its role and character accordingly. For example, as the public junior colleges spread across the states, the quasi-public institutions began to shift its emphasis to upper division and graduate level programs.

More recently, public systems have been developing a special institution called the senior college, designed to complement the junior colleges by offering upper division work and first year graduate programs. This development has once again caused some of the quasi-public institutions to reassess their role and shift to a greater emphasis on high cost graduate education. Now that undergraduate needs have almost been met, a massive development of public higher education is already on the horizon for the late 1970s. Thus,competition between the public universities and the quasi-public institutions will intensify in an environment of high-cost programs. This evolutionary development for the quasi-public institutions rests on the assumption that private higher education can grow and compete on the same terms as the public universities.

Like most organizations confronted by a challenge to their traditionally held domain, it is difficult for these nonpublic institutions to visualize the educational advantages of retrenchment. The automatic response of the quasi-public universities was to protest the expansion of public higher education and to argue against the establishment of competing programs and activities by public universities. Faculty and administrators in many of the quasi-public institutions visited revealed this kind of defensiveness. So strong was the ideology of growth in these institutions that very few respondents would either recognize or seriously consider the educational benefits of adopting a more narrowly conceived role so that their viability could be improved. Yet recent public expansion has forced some quasi-public institutions to reevaluate their goals for future development.

A second conclusion to be drawn from this analysis of the autonomy of private institutions is that there exist certain widely accepted myths which deflect the energies of private institutions from real and persistent problems. One of the myths repeatedly heard in interviews was that all of the current problems of private institutions were directly attributable to the growth of public higher education. As one result of this mythology, private institutions have sometimes been interpreting proposals for cooperative programs with state institutions as attempts at cooptation and subordination.

It seems clear from the foregoing findings that few large scale cooperative ventures between different types of institutions can be developed and sustained while existing attitudes and perceptions prevail among private institutions. The Bundy Commission, in particular, found that in New York there was no evidence to support the view that private institutions were "losing students," or "pricing themselves out of the market." On the other hand, according to the Select Committee, some individual institutions were indeed found to have poor management, inadequate fiscal policies, and little institutional planning for the future, and some students were rejecting such colleges as places to enroll because the tuition was too high for the level of "quality" offered.

If private institutions are to overcome some of their financial strains and their current competitiveness with public higher education, they must both engage in considerably more institutional planning and participate in statewide planning. The record of attempts at sound planning to date has not been impressive. As of 1969, each of the four states studied was considering or actually implementing a program of state-aid to private institutions. This development will undoubtedly force private colleges and universities to treat comprehensive planning more seriously than in the past. New York's program of state assistance to the private higher education sector stipulates that long-range plans must be on file with the State Department of Education. Similar requirements are being set by federal agencies so that institutions will participate in federally sponsored construction programs. Thus, it is extra-institutional pressures that serve as the single most important impetus for internal planning by most private colleges and universities.

One obvious point needs reemphasis, since it portends of significant developments for both public and private higher education in most states. It was repeatedly observed that the role played by private institutions in statewide planning is relatively weak. This results from a variety of factors, the most obvious of which are the traditionally independent position of private institutions, the establishment of coordinating agencies primarily to cope with public higher education problems, and a certain temerity on the part of private institutions about sharing long-range plans and programs with the public segments.

Many actively argue that the maintenance of a dual system of American higher education--separate systems of public and private higher education--is clearly in the public interest. Bowen (1968) has recently enumerated three major reasons why the well-being of private institutions is clearly in the public interest: Private universities and colleges educate a significant number of individuals; private institutions have been effective in promoting the ideas of institutional autonomy and academic freedom for all of higher education; and there are accrued benefits for the public interest through a dual system, since competition is fostered between public and private institutions. Bowen concludes his study on private higher education with the following:

> The special contributions and problems of the private universities (and colleges) must, then, be seen in the light of their role as an essential component of a diverse, complex, diffuse, and yet highly responsive _system_ of higher education, a system whose value to the nation has been amply demonstrated. In this context, private universities (and colleges) appear in proper perspective as a precious set of "assets-in-being." They help to promote freedom, diversity, and excellence. If their effectiveness is impaired, American higher education as a whole will suffer [p. 62].

One of the key challenges to statewide planners is to design a strategy that will result in a program of planning which fully recognizes and endorses the respective roles of the public and private sectors. This is one of the strongest approaches to the long-term preservation of a dual system of American higher education.

VIII

Comparative Analysis

Several types of statewide planning and their significance for different types of campuses have been examined in four states. The following discussion extends the analysis by comparing the similarities and differences between the four states and assessing the evidence in support of the anticipated findings discussed in Chapter I. To understand these comparisons, it is important to recall the four dimensions of interorganizational networks: degree of differentiation, distribution of authority, type of planning, and level of educational autonomy.

Degree of differentiation refers to the way in which a higher education network is divided into its component parts--that is, into clusters of institutions that perform highly similar educational tasks, and are usually referred to as segments. In the present study, a differentiated network is one with nine or more separate segments and an undifferentiated network has seven or fewer segments. These cutting points were arbitrarily chosen so comparisons could be drawn.

Distribution of authority refers to the location within the network where critical decisions are made about educational matters. When a majority of the critical decisions are made within the statewide coordinating agency, this is considered a centralized network; in a decentralized network, most critical decisions are made by the individual institutions.

Type of planning is defined in terms of the degree to which a state's planning activities meet certain criteria. Planning is regarded as comprehensive when it is broad in scope, based on priorities, informed by empirical research, conducted with widespread participation, implemented according to a particular time schedule, and designed to span several time periods. Fragmented planning is the reverse of these features.

Educational autonomy refers primarily to the ability of a college or university to establish, maintain, and improve its mission and role. Basically, three dimensions of educational autonomy are assessed--historical, legal, and informal, the informal probably being the most important. The judgments of educational autonomy reported in this study were made by the research team and are based upon a blending of the historical data, the legal-formal structure, and the informal views held by members in the network.

Ratings on educational autonomy were made for each segment of institutions within a state, and an overall rating was given each state, based on a composite assessment of the level of autonomy found in the state's colleges and universities, both public and private. The data considered were those related to: control over the establishment and modification of programs, the level of budgeting and personnel support and amount of leeway in the deployment of these resources, and the extent of routine surveillance of academic and administrative affairs by statewide offices and agencies.

A high rating was given to local institutions which exercise major control over their programs, receive budgetary and personnel support consistent with program development, deploy these resources as needed, and are not subjected to an unusual amount of periodic surveillance of campus activities by statewide agencies. A rating of medium indicates that the majority of decisions about programs are made jointly by institutions and statewide agencies, that budgetary and personnel support is generally consistent with program plans although certain important restrictions still operate, and that local institutions are exposed to some periodic review of their activities. Low educational autonomy means that most decisions about programs are made by extra-institutional agencies, budgetary and personnel support are strictly assigned and controlled, and state agencies exercise strong surveillance of internal procedures, activities, and decisions. In the process of making these judgments about educational autonomy, approximately twice as much weight was assigned to program control as to levels of support or degree of external surveillance. The major emphasis was thus placed on program control, with some recognition given to administrative arrangements and other regulatory processes that may limit local autonomy.

The four key features of interorganizational networks--degree of differentiation, distribution of authority, type of planning, and level of educational autonomy--were combined to identify four basic types of interorganizational networks, i.e., "Part," "Mixed A," "Mixed B" and "Whole" (Chap. I). A statewide educational network that focuses mainly on meeting statewide or "public interest" needs is labeled "Whole." If primary emphasis is placed on satisfying the needs of individual institutions, the "Part" label applies. Intermediate cases are described as "Mixed." States were judged in relation to one another on each of the four dimensions; segments and individual institutions were judged in relation to one another within each state. The major findings for each state are summarized in Table 12.

California

California's higher education system represents a slightly more complex network than Florida's, but it is considerably less differentiated than either Illinois' or New York's. As Table 12 shows, higher education in California, as in Florida, conforms to the features of a "Mixed A" network: The network is undifferentiated, authority is decentralized, planning is fragmented, and educational autonomy is high. Yet California, with a greater variability in its segments, does not represent the high degree of educational autonomy found in Florida.

The 210 colleges and universities in California are divided among seven segments, two more than in Florida. These additional segments include the state colleges and private international universities. Even with these additional segments and a much greater number of institutions per segment, however, California's system is relatively more undifferentiated than Illinois' and New York's.

As mentioned in the California chapter, further informal distinctions are often drawn between institutions that are members of the same formally defined segment. For example, interviewees talked about the four to six state colleges that aspire to state university recognition. Similarly, the "new, experimental" campuses (Irvine, Santa Cruz, San Diego) are frequently compared with the "old, traditional" campuses of the University of California. These distinctions, although worth noting and discussing, as they were in the chapter on California, are not important to the discussion of differentiation, but are highlighted in the discussion of

TABLE 12

Characteristics of Higher Education Networks, by State

	California		Florida		Illinois		New York	
Degree of Differentiation in Higher Education Network	Relatively undifferentiated		Very undifferentiated		Differentiated		Differentiated	
	Public		Public		Public		Public	
	U. of Calif.	9	State Univ.	9	U. of Illinois	3	SUNY	
	State Colleges	19	State Colleges	0	So. Illinois U.	3	Univ. Centers	4
	Jr. Colleges	90	Jr. Colleges	27	Bd. of Regents	3	Arts/Sciences	12
					Bd. Governors	5	Jr. Colleges	27
					Jr. Colleges	35	Special b)	15
							CUNY	
							Universities	6
							Jr. Colleges	7
							Special	4
Number of Segments of Institutions	Nonpublic		Nonpublic a)		Nonpublic		Nonpublic	
	International	2	International	0	International	1	International	2
	Quasi-public	1	Quasi-public	3	Quasi-public	6	Quasi-public	7
	Selective LACs	9	Selective LACs	2	Selective LACs	12	Selective LACs	22
	Others	80	Others	27	Others	77	Others	108
	7 segments 210 institutions		5 segments 68 institutions		9 segments 145 institutions		11 segments 213 institutions	

TABLE 12 (Continued)

Characteristics of Higher Education Networks, by State

	California	Florida	Illinois	New York
Distribution of Authority	Decentralized	Decentralized	Centralized	Centralized
Coordinating Agency	Coordinating Council for Higher Education (18 members: 6 lay members appointed by governor; 3 representatives each of private institutions, university, state colleges, and junior colleges).	State Board of Education (7 elected cabinet members: governor, commissioner of education, attorney general, secretary of state, treasurer, comptroller, and commissioner of agriculture).	Illinois Board of Higher Education (16 members: 10 lay members appointed by governor; 5 representatives of public institutions--chairman of each board; and the superintendent of public instruction).	Board of Regents (24 lay members appointed by the legislature).
Formal Authority	Approval on data collected, but otherwise advisory. UC Board of Regents has constitutional autonomy. Segmental Boards, especially UC, have great formal power. Department of Finance has major fiscal control over public higher education budgets. Office of Legislative Analyst reviews and analyzes recommendations on public higher education budgets.	Final approval for all matters except budgets, which are approved by another cabinet group, the State Budget and Planning Commission.	Final approval on all matters except budgets. Generally, the governor and legislature accept the Board's recommendations on budgets. The State Budget Commission and Department of Finance play minimal roles.	Broadest range of authority, including nonpublic higher education except for budgets. CUNY is subject to both city and state government controls. State Budget Office plays strong role in budgeting for higher education.

TABLE 12 (Continued)

Characteristics of Higher Education Networks,
by State

	California	Florida	Illinois	New York
Distribution of Authority	Decentralized	Decentralized	Centralized	Centralized
Informal Authority	Coordinating Council for Higher Education weak in past. Segment Boards exercise considerable influence since state officials sit as ex officio members.	Except for individual actions by Governor, State Board of Education has not exercised its power fully. Board of Regents, Jr. College Division and local Boards of Trustees have used their influence to promote the interests of their institutions.	Strong influence by Illinois Board of Higher Education. Great variability in influence of public segments. Governor, Chairman, and Executive Directors of IBHE and administrators of public institutions are effective team for promoting development of higher education.	Board of Regents legal powers judiciously exercised. Segments have substantial influence over educational matters. Leadership team of Governor, Commissioner of Education, and Chancellors of SUNY and CUNY is an effective coalition that promotes the development of higher education.
Relationship of state government to higher education	State officials participate directly in higher education as members of segment boards. Legislative analyst and Department of Finance exercise considerable influence on higher education. Multiple centers of significant penetration into network.	State Board of Education and State Budget and Planning Commission are composed of same members. New office of State Planning established and staff of SBE increased. Legislative auditor position created. Many points of significant political penetration into network.	State role small, except for Governor's strong support of Illinois Board of Higher Education planning. Department of Finance and Budgetary Commission increasing level of staff and supervision of higher education. Minimal level of penetration into higher education.	State role mainly exercised through legislative appointments to Board of Regents and governor's support of higher education and appointments of SUNY trustees. State Budget Office exercises control over SUNY; N.Y. city government controls CUNY State Planning Office; not directly involved except to push PPBS for Budget Office.

TABLE 12 (Continued)

Characteristics of Higher Education Networks,
by State

	California	Florida	Illinois	New York
Type of Planning	Fragmented	Fragmented	Comprehensive	Comprehensive
Public Sector	Statewide. Ad hoc special studies within framework of Master Plan. Considerable regularized planning in segments. Jr. Colleges have new law for facilities planning.	Statewide. Sporadic efforts oriented mainly to the state universities. Planning not yet a continuous process.	Statewide. Originally conceived, broad scope, continuous master planning with wide participation. Little in planning in segments in the past, except UI and SIU; planning funds now available to segments.	Statewide planning prescribed by law in 4-year cycles; largely collation of segmental plans. Planning in segments most sophisticated of all states at this level.
Role of Nonpublic Sector	Direct participation in Coordinating Council for Higher Education. Association of Independent California Colleges and Universities somewhat influential.	Private associations not very influential in state policy. Only minimal attention given to privates in past, but definite steps under way to include these institutions in statewide plans.	Direct participation in planning committees of Board of Higher Education. Nonpublic Presidents Advisory Committee reviews Master Plans and makes recommendations. Federation of Illinois Independent Colleges and Universities has had relatively limited role.	Nonpublic interests well represented on Board of Regents in past. Commission on Independent Colleges and Universities have had relatively limited role. "Big Six" very influential in past.

TABLE 12 (Continued)

Characteristics of Higher Education Networks, by State

	California		Florida		Illinois		New York	
Educational Autonomy	High		High		High		Med. High	
Autonomy by Segments[a]	U. of Calif.	High	State Univ.	High	U. of Ill.	Med.High	SUNY	Med. High
	State Colleges	Med.	Jr. Colleges	High	So. Illinois U.	High	Univ. Ctrs.	High
	Jr. Colleges	High	Quasi-public	High	Bd. of Regents	High	Arts & Sci.	Med. High
	Intern'l.	High	Selective LACs	Med.	Bd. of Govs.	High	Jr. Colleges	Med.
	Quasi-public	Med.	Others	Mixd.	Jr. Colleges	High	Special[b]	High
	Selective LACs	High			Intern'l	High	CUNY	Med.
	Others	Mixd.			Quasi-public	Low-Med	Univs.	Med.
					Selective LACs	High	Jr. Colleges	Low
					Others	Mixd.	Special	NA
							PRIVATE	
							Intern'l	High
							Quasi-public	Med.
							Selective LACs	High
							Others	Mixd.

a) The nonpublic segment has been divided into four sociologically relevant categories: International private universities, Quasi-public institutions, Selective liberal arts colleges, and Others. These are defined in Chap. I.

b) The special institutions are a category unique to the New York system, and include the contract colleges, the agricultural-technical institutes, and a miscellaneous group of special purpose institutions like CUNY's police academy. These institutions are considered to be different from the typical segments found in other states and are treated separately in our study.

educational autonomy.

The distribution of authority within California's network is strikingly different from the situation in the other three states. California's Coordinating Council for Higher Education, as provided in the Donahoe Higher Education Act, has relatively weak advisory powers and duties compared with statewide coordinating agencies in other states. The major function of its professional staff has been one of data collection for special ad hoc studies requested by the council, the legislature, or the governor. Also contributing to the relatively weak authority of the council is the composition of its membership, the majority of whom are institutional representatives. Many state government officials thus view the council as a spokesman for the institutions. Some go so far as to judge that the council's work is dominated by the wishes of the institutional segments and that as a consequence the statewide, public interest tends to be neglected. Clear evidence in support of this view was not available.

Compared with the statewide board, the segmental boards have much more formal and informal authority. Both the university's Board of Regents and the state colleges' Board of Trustees, whose lay members are appointed by the governor, have strong legal governing powers over their respective institutions, although the extent to which this power has actually been exercised was questioned in the state chapter. Increasing similarity rather than diversity seems to characterize the institutional aspirations and program developments for the institutions within these segments. This suggests that it is extremely difficult for a governing board to say "No" to their institutions. Since the board is highly identified with its campuses and heavily committed to the overall improvement of the segment, it is all but impossible to hold back the expansion of campuses.

Complicating the governance of either board, however, are other features special to the state. First, a number of elected state officials, including the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and Speaker of the House sit as ex officio voting members on these boards, and "end-around" maneuvers which leave the Coordinating Council out of certain major policy issues can easily be effected by these boards and key state officials. Second, although the university was granted constitutional autonomy in the Organic Act of 1868, and historically this feature has placed important limitations on direct political interference in educational matters, recent incidents in the state and nation have raised important questions about the present and future significance of constitutional autonomy for public institutions. And third, once the powers, duties, and practices of the Office of Legislative Analyst and the Department of Finance are itemized, it becomes clear that these two offices play extremely important roles in the financing of higher education.

Because of these multiple centers of penetration by the state government into public higher education, the weak legal authority of the Coordinating Council and its dominance by institutional representatives, and the strong legal powers vested in the segment boards, the distribution of authority in California's higher education network was judged as decentralized. Historically, no major permanent shifts have occurred in the state or within the segments.

The type of planning conducted at the different levels in California has been extensively reviewed in the chapter on the state. In brief, as the table indicates, the Coordinating Council has conducted a vast number of special ad hoc studies, usually on request from the legislature and the governor, and has also periodically assessed the progress made in achieving the recommendations of the 1960 Master Plan, but it has not engaged in comprehensive planning. The segments have produced a number of plans over the years, highly quantitative in nature, comprised mainly of curricular and enrollment projections into the near future. This planning has been more regularized than the Coordinating Council's, but it also falls short of the criteria for comprehensiveness. The junior colleges, for instance, have recently obtained a facilities planning law which should improve their overall construction efforts. On the basis of this data, the planning, especially in the public arena, must be judged to be fragmented.

Findings with respect to educational autonomy indicate that the level of autonomy in colleges and universities in California is high, and that it has progressively increased for many campuses during the 10-year period subsequent to the Master Plan. Autonomy varies significantly, however, between the segments, and the following discussion focuses on the underlying reasons for these variations.

Possessed of broad constitutional autonomy, and operating under the favorable 1960 Master Plan provisions, the University of California has much greater freedom than any segment in the four states studied to define and carry out its mission and role with a minimum of external constraints. This high level of autonomy has enabled the university to establish and develop three of its campuses (Irvine, San Diego, and Santa Cruz) in innovative ways, and to plan them as general campuses which in time will be of the magnitude of Berkeley and Los Angeles. The effect of the 1960 Master Plan was to reinforce the university's long-standing eminent domain by reasserting that this system of education should be solely responsible for basic research and doctoral training.

The state colleges, on the other hand, are currently the most constrained public segment in the California system. Failing to secure constitutional autonomy in the Master Plan legislation of 1960, or to be granted the right to conduct basic research and offer doctoral programs, the state colleges have continued to be subjected to many controls, primarily of a fiscal nature, and exercised by the Department of Finance. Periodically, efforts have been made to decentralize these controls, but certain events (described in the chapter on California) have prevented implementation along these lines.

For many years the Faculty Staffing Formula operated as an important limitation upon program development in the state colleges, and many different problems were blamed upon the formula, since it was an easy target. Viewed as the "yoke around the state college neck," the formula was nevertheless sometimes used by the Chancellor's office or a president of a campus as a scapegoat for the ways in which they allocated resources. At times the format of the budget--the way budget data were generated--led to erroneous conclusions about program restrictions. In other cases the Department of Finance raised questions and made decisions about such matters as appropriate class size, for example, through their pre-audit procedures. New agreements have now been worked out with the Department of Finance. The formula review and pre-audit process have been eliminated, and the Chancellor has given campus administrators more flexibility in the use of their resources.

Several state colleges--particularly the older, larger, and more prestigious institutions--have been unhappy with the restrictions on their educational autonomy required by the provisions of the 1960 Master Plan. Aspiring to full university status and corresponding levels of support, the faculties and administrators of these colleges have mobilized enough strength to secure from the Chancellor's office the commitment to seek university status and a name change. However, the tremendous expense of developing university campuses, coupled with conflicting reports about what the future needs for graduates with doctoral degrees will be, have so far held off some fairly strong pressure to establish state universities.

The final judgment of medium educational autonomy for the state colleges was made largely on the basis of the long-standing constrictions over these institutions by various state agencies. Although most of the faculty and administrators interviewed would give a lower rating, it must be recognized that over the last three to five years, greater freedom has been granted to these institutions, especially in the area of finances. Furthermore, periods of rapid quantitative expansion, such as the state colleges first experienced in the mid-1950s, allow great opportunity for the development of many new programs.

California junior colleges have a longer history of independence and rapid development than those in almost any state in the nation. California now has 90 such institutions, some of which are quite large and offer a full range of programs. Historically governed by local district boards of trustees and responsive to local needs, these institutions were recognized as a part of higher education in 1960, removed from their traditional secondary education context, and given autonomy. In 1967, however, these two-year colleges came under the jurisdiction of a statewide Board of Governors, which in the future may limit some of its newly gained freedom. In general, the educational autonomy of the junior colleges is judged to be high.

Florida

Data collected in the state of Florida quite clearly place its educational netowrk in the "Mixed A" category. That is, the educational network in Florida is undifferentiated, decentralized, and fragmented, and its institutions enjoy a high level of educational autonomy. Only one of Florida's features differed from what had been expected; on the basis of these network features, it was anticipated that the level of educational autonomy would be only medium-high. However, because of the conditions that necessarily obtain during periods of rapid expansion, and as a result of the informal and salutary interchanges between college personnel and key state officials, the level of autonomy was actually high.

Of the four states in our study, Florida has the least differentiated system of higher education. The 68 institutions of higher learning in the state are divided among five segments. This state neither had private institutions that fell within the category of international universities, nor the usual state college segment. While each of the campuses under the Board of Regents carries the university title, many interviewees characterized the new university campuses "as really state colleges." That is, the new campuses, such as Florida Atlantic and Florida Technological, do not offer the doctorate degree, and the emphasis on research is not as predominant as at Florida State or the University of Florida. A more important feature of Florida's network, however, is the "junior-senior" design, whereby certain university campuses are designed to teach only upper division and graduate courses, relying heavily on student transfers from nearby junior colleges. This feature creates special problems for both types of institutions. That is, the development of programs at both the junior and senior institutions requires careful planning so that each will be sensitive to the needs of the other. There is therefore an important sense in which the autonomy of the institutions involved in such a cooperative arrangement must be modified. Rather than each campus developing its programs individually, more joint planning and decision-making is required.

Examination of the distribution of authority within the network shows that the State Board of Education has strong formal-legal power over all higher education matters, including de facto budget policy. Since the same individuals sit as the State Board of Education and the State Budget and Planning Commission, decisions made by the State Board of Education in effect become policy under the Cabinet system. Since the State Board of Education is so closely a part of state government operations, higher education in Florida is organizationally built into the vortex of state politics.

From the standpoint of the State Board of Education's legal powers, it would appear that the network is highly centralized. In practice, however, except for some individual actions taken by the Governor, the State Board of Education has not hired the professional staff necessary to supervise higher education closely, nor has the Board exercised its legal powers. Instead, the Board of Regents, the Junior College Division, and the local junior college boards of trustees have used their influence to substantially shape higher education policy. During the 1950s, there was some confusion between the State Board of Education and the Board of Regents regarding their respective roles in higher education policy matters. In the past decade, however, there has been a concerted effort to decentralize budgeting and to remove many other state controls over higher education. More legal autonomy was granted to the Board of Regents regarding appointments and fiscal matters by the 1967 legislature, and in 1968 the legislature passed a law creating separate boards of trustees for the junior colleges. This decision simplified the authority structure for the junior colleges.

During the last few years, certain changes were made in state government which may eventually affect the distribution of authority over higher education. In 1967, a State Planning Office was established, with overall responsibilities for conducting or coordinating planning within almost all tax-supported programs. Second, the legislature established the office of Legislative Auditor in 1968, to aid in the analysis of all state budgets. And finally, steps taken in 1969 resulted in several important changes in the overall structure and administration of education in Florida. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction was assigned the new title of Commissioner of Education. The internal design of the State Department of Education was modified and a new division of higher education was created and given the major responsibility for statewide planning for public and private higher education. Although the details of these arrangements are still being worked out, they raise concern about possible trends toward greater centralization.

Thus, Florida's system of higher education was found to be decentralized, although recent events indicate that some centralization may be taking place. The many ways in which the state government and politics have entered into higher education decisions were documented in the chapter on Florida. Study of the local communities and their chambers of commerce made it clear that Florida's top echelons in the educational hierarchy are responsive to community pressures, and that local interest groups have contributed in no small way to the successful expansion of several of the public universities.

The type of planning conducted in the network has also had the effect of reinforcing a decentralized system. There have been only periodic attempts (reviewed in the state chapter) to prepare comprehensive plans for higher education. One of the most important of these studied, the Brumbaugh-Blee, marked a critical state in the development of higher education in the post World War II period. Institutions were encouraged to expand their student capacity and range of programs to accommodate greatly expanded enrollments. After more than 50 years of only minor expansion, two new university campuses were authorized.

Planning has been done by the state universities and community junior colleges, but there has been little coordinating and continuity to these efforts. The Board of Regents has done the most planning, but their plans have been mainly in the form of self studies and inventories, limited in scope and time span and not integrated with fiscal and facilities planning. The new chancellor of the State University System has indicated his concern about the lack of comprehensive planning, and the indications are that this deficiency may quickly be resolved through new master planning efforts.

Private colleges and universities have not been fully included in the planning efforts of public higher education, nor has the private association, the Independent Colleges and Universities of Florida, taken an active role in planning the future direction of private higher education in the state. Compared to other states in our study, the private institutions, with the possible exception of the University of Miami, are not very influential in the formulation of state education policies. Once again, this may change as problems become more acute and as recent efforts toward joint planning become more firmly developed.

Thus, Florida's higher education network is basically characterized by fragmented planning, which is pervasive throughout all the segments. The governmental reorganization mentioned above may resolve this problem, however, and as the State Board of Education develops staff and experience, their new responsibility for statewide planning should result in important actions for all segments of higher education.

Under the conditions that prevail with respect to the differentiation of the system, the distribution of authority, and the type of planning, it was anticipated that the educational autonomy of Florida's colleges and universities would be medium-high. As indicated earlier, the state universities in this period of growth were able to expand rapidly, and without undue interference from the state government or the board of regents. In general, these universities developed their own programs and received approval to implement them. The same situation prevailed in the community colleges. During the past decade, junior colleges were established throughout the state and have developed comprehensive programs with the full support of the local community and the state junior college board. In fact, one of the major successes of the Florida network has been the rapid growth of the junior college segment.

It is important to note the general trends over time in the level of educational autonomy for Florida's public and nonpublic institutions. The period of the 1950s was cited by several interviewees as a time when public universities felt especially cramped by state policies and the actions of various agencies. Line-item budgeting was practiced and capital construction projects were scrutinized quite carefully. Formulas in all areas of budgeting became popular and tight controls were applied to the transfer of funds from one budget item to another.

In comparison, the decade of the 1960s was one of continued growth. Many controls considered offensive and irritating by local administrators and faculty were eliminated, and the trend was generally toward greater campus autonomy. Some slowing of this pattern will likely occur over the next few years as program budgeting is introduced along with more sophisticated information systems, and as the relatively new relationships between the Board of Regents and State Board of Education become firmly established. The procedures followed and methods used by the Department of Education to develop statewide plans will be important in determining the level of autonomy for all public institutions.

Illinois

The higher education network in Illinois best fits the "Mixed B" type--a relatively centralized authority structure, differentiated segments, and comprehensive planning--with one exception. Educational autonomy is relatively high in most of its colleges and universities, for reasons which will evolve from the following discussion.

Illinois colleges and universities (145 in number) are divided into eight segments, as shown in Table 12. The adoption of the "systems of systems" concept in Illinois has resulted in the formation of five public segments, four of which contain university level institutions. In its public segments, Illinois boards have fewer institutions under their jurisdiction than do the boards in the other states studied. Such differentiation of the public institutions evidently allows for a considerable degree of individual attention to the problems of each institution, and this unique combination of numerous public segments with few institutions within each allows for considerable autonomy even when the network as a whole is centralized. Over the past nine years, furthermore, the Board of Higher Education has realigned the institutions within the segments as well as created new segments when necessary, so that institutional desires for autonomy were satisfied and the system as a whole achieved remarkable flexibility.

Compared with the coordinating boards of California and Florida, the Illinois Board of Higher Education has broader authority over all educational policy matters, except in the area of budgets. Even in this area, however, the board and its professional staff have been very successful, in the past three biennia, in obtaining significantly increased levels of state support for public higher education.

Informally, the Board of Higher Education has exercised strong influence over the development of the Illinois network, but with different impact on the several segments. Although the state has not directly intervened in higher education matters in the past, much of the success of the Illinois system during the 1960s can be attributed to the effective working relationships established between the governor, the chairman and executive directors of the Board of Higher Education, and the administrations of the various institutions. The governor strongly endorsed Illinois master planning efforts and played a key role in obtaining legislative support to implement master plan recommendations. The Department of Finance and the Legislative Budgetary Commission, inactive in higher education matters in the past, have recently increased their professional staffs so as to supervise the higher education budgets more closely.

Although the segmental boards have retained their traditional governing powers (which are especially important for the University of Illinois and Southern Illinois University) in general the network represents a formally centralized system.

Through the work of the Board of Higher Education, Illinois has engaged in comprehensive master planning which has evolved in three phases. As originally conceived, master planning has been broad in scope and based upon significant research efforts, and has involved substantial numbers of individuals and groups representing a wide variety of colleges, universities, and citizen organizations. The result of this systematic planning effort has been a vast expansion of Illinois public higher education. Since 1965, the state-supported junior college system has been launched, two new senior institutions have been authorized, and existing institutions have been expanded to accommodate the greatly increased enrollment in the state.

With the exceptions of the periodic planning done by the University of Illinois and Southern Illinois University, the various segments in the network have not engaged in substantial planning. In the past biennium, however, special planning funds were earmarked for the segments so that this task could be undertaken more systematically. As initially mentioned, on the basis of the theoretical framework it was anticipated that the status of educational autonomy in Illinois would be medium. When the data were carefully analyzed, however, it was found that the overall level of educational autonomy was high. The general reason for this situation has been discussed; following is a more detailed description of the specifics which contribute to the total picture.

Southern Illinois University has gone through a series of important evolutionary stages. Much of its progress was made possible by the removal of certain legal and traditional restrictions on its mission and role, and as the resources of the campus grew. One important change was its elevation to university status in 1943, and another breakthrough came in 1963 when the last remaining restrictions on its professional programs were removed. Throughout these stages of development, the educational autonomy of SIU has, in general, grown. During interviews on campus in 1967, it became apparent that the level of educational autonomy was high. Evidence for this judgment came mainly from observations of the development of the Edwardsville campus. Although begun before the Board of Higher Education was established, this campus of the university received program approval and financial support necessary to develop its academic mission and role. Between 1962 and 1968, a total of 27 new units of instruction were approved for Southern Illinois University. Sixteen and

11 new units of instruction were approved respectively for the Edwardsville and Carbondale campuses (Board of Higher Education, 1968), and no particular problems were uncovered regarding program approval and level of support. The 11 new units of the Edwardsville campus were all master's programs, whereas 9 of the 16 new units at the Carbondale campus were mainly research centers, special purpose centers, and the like. Five other units consisted of new two-year programs.

Information gathered during visits to both of the institutions under the Board of Regents showed that the general level of autonomy for these institutions was high. Over the years, both institutions made substantial gains in the level of their autonomy. Northern Illinois University received its long sought after goal of obtaining jurisdiction under a different board, and under the new Board of Regents both Northern Illinois University and Illinois State University received authority to enlarge their earlier educational mission to become liberal arts universities with doctoral programs in these fields. In addition to receiving substantially increased financial support, this gain meant more freedom and flexibility for these institutions than they had enjoyed under the tighter control of the Board of Governors.

All four institutions under the jurisdiction of the Board of Governors in 1967 have gained in autonomy. Removal of Chicago teachers' colleges from the tight control of the Chicago Board of Education, and placement of them in the hands of the state, meant increased state financial support and also enlargement of their functions. Beyond their original teacher training mission, much greater attention is given to urban problems and meeting the educational needs of the urban disadvantaged.

These expanded functions will be aided by the new campus planned for Chicago State College.

The other two institutions under the Board of Governors--Western and Eastern Illinois Universities--have grown at a slower rate than other public institutions in Illinois. Although Western earlier aspired to a full-scale liberal arts university model, much like Northern and Illinois State, these plans were slowly reoriented in accordance with its designated mission and role as a state university of more limited scope. The administration and faculty at Western felt constrained by these restrictions, but apparently they now see the importance of fulfilling a more limited set of objectives.

The state junior college system was established in 1965 with provisions for substantial state support, especially construction funds. This support provided a much needed impetus, and within three years junior colleges sprouted up throughout the entire state. For those junior colleges already in existence, the state program meant these institutions would be separated from their traditional high school ties and provided with new facilities. The campuses of Chicago City College also benefited from the 1965 law; most of these institutions are moving into new facilities. As part of the 1965 law, the state also provided for a comprehensive curricula, broadening the former emphasis on liberal arts transfer programs. Although such an expansion met with resistance in a few places, it was generally considered by the junior college people as an important gain. There was also some concern expressed initially about the methods by which the new Junior College Board was formulating its rules and operating procedures, but these difficulties seem to have been largely resolved. On balance, it is evident that most junior colleges have gained considerable autonomy under the new state system.

The final set of institutions to be discussed are the three separate campuses of the University of Illinois. Relatively recent events surrounding the development of this institution provide one of the best illustrations of where statewide interests and institutional interests differ about the level of autonomy at the University of Illinois. Although its Board of Trustees endorsed Phases I and II of the Master Plan, an issue arose over the meaning of the university's "comprehensive" mission and role. This difference in perspective became very apparent during the controversy, discussed in the chapter on Illinois, over new institutions.

The statewide position concerning the mission and role of the University of Illinois had gradually been developing and was reflected in such documents as the Committee N Report and Master Plan-Phase II of 1966. These documents laid the groundwork for the system of typology. The controversy over new institutions, however, brought this proposed division of academic labor under very close scrutiny. The Worthy Committee's Report to the Board of Higher Education contained a special note on the missions and roles of the University of Illinois and on three recommendations which explicitly adopted the system of systems typology, whereby "each individual system would have a functional unity and cohesion, manifested by responsibility for a particular type or kind of education" (Special Committee, 1967). From this perspective, the University of Illinois segment would contain the fully developed multipurpose universities. Furthermore, the Worthy Committee stated that the university's "unique and dominant mission appears to be the advancement of knowledge through research and education at the highest levels. . .

the heart of the university endeavor is--and should be--the training of the intellectually elite."

The University of Illinois took issue with the Worthy Committee's efforts to define its goals and functions, declaring the goals to be contrary to present policy. In a formal reply to the Board of Higher Education, the university stated its position as follows:

> The University of Illinois does not regard its research and graduate work as its 'unique and dominant mission.' The University's uniqueness arises from its comprehensiveness, from the combination of missions, and from the wide range of educational opportunity and public service provided. Less than 20 percent of its students are graduate students. . . The University rejects the hypothesis that the heart of its endeavor is 'the training of the intellectually elite.' The present selectivity has been imposed upon its present admissions from lack of facilities, not from a policy determination of limiting educational opportunity to superior students. We reject the notion that 'the 25 percent of its students who achieve the top constitute its real raison d'être,' and that 'its whole system is designed toward this end.' The statement is a gross distortion. All of the programs and all of the students of the University are considered important (Statement of the University of Illinois, 1968).

The presentation to the Board of Higher Education of these two different conceptions of the mission and role of the University of Illinois precipitated a series of charges and countercharges between the Boards' staff and the university over educational function, type of student, and level of state support for the University (Statement of University of Illinois, 1968; Glenny, 1968; and University of Illinois Comments on a Statement by Dr. Glenny, 1968). The perspective of top-level administrators at the University of Illinois was that the university's educational autonomy had been reduced as a result of the establishment of the board, and that the controversy over the new institutions most sharply curtailed the university's autonomy.

In contrast, the perspective of the board's staff was that the best interests of the state would be served by not assigning these new campuses to the university; that it was extremely important to preserve a political balance of powers between the segments and the Board; and that this action in no way significantly reduced the university's autonomy. In fact, 72 new units of instruction were approved for all three University of Illinois campuses between 1962 and 1968. Thirteen units were doctoral programs; 25 were masters programs; 19 were new bachelors programs; and 13 were additional research centers, special-purpose centers, and the like (Board of Higher Education, 1968). Hence, this four-year period represented a considerable expansion of the university's educational programs.

Because the researchers judged both sides of the argument to be somewhat overdrawn, the rating given the university's autonomy was medium-high. The university had provided sufficient documentation to support its claim that the board had not fully supported the university in meeting its projected enrollments and needed facilities, and that new campuses would have partially eliminated this problem. On the other hand, the board and its staff had made the assignments on the new institutions basically in accordance with the criteria contained in the Master Plan.

Thus, the degree of educational autonomy existing in the different segments varied considerably. When combined into a generalized total for the state, however, it was found that enough segments had high levels of autonomy, especially in the public sector, that the state level could be considered high. This assessment modified the theoretical hypothesis largely because the centralized system and comprehensive planning conducted under able leadership and conditions of rapid growth led to increased autonomy for most of the segments.

New York

The structure and organization of higher education in New York is the most unique, the most complex, and the most differentiated of the four states. On the basis of the data presented in Table 1, New York higher education conforms to the features of a "Mixed B" network. Its network is differentiated, with authority centralized, comprehensive planning, and a medium high level of educational autonomy for institutions.

New York has more colleges and universities than any other state. The more than 213 institutions are divided into the 11 segments outlined in Table 12. The history of higher education in New York has greatly influenced the way in which the system has been organized. The public sector has traditionally been divided on a geographical basis, with different types of institutions in New York City organized as the City University of New York (CUNY) and the remainder of the institutions outside the city comprising the State University of New York (SUNY). Both CUNY and SUNY contain the standard types of institutions within their jurisdictions (universities, liberal arts colleges, and community colleges). But CUNY and SUNY also contain a segment of institutions here designated as "special." These institutions are the contract colleges, special institutes, police academies, and agricultural-technical colleges. Thus, the New York system has many more parts to it than the systems in other states.

Compared with the other three states in our study, the New York Board of Regents has the broadest range of formal powers and duties of any of the coordinating agencies. Established almost 200 years ago, the Board of Regents has jurisdiction over both public and private institutions in the state at all levels--primary, secondary, and higher education. It has full authority over all higher education matters except in budgetary matters, and it has a large administrative apparatus, the State Department of Education, to carry out its policies and conduct the day-to-day business of higher education.

The state government has been influential in public higher education in two major ways. First, the legislature appoints the members of the Board of Regents, and the governor appoints the member of SUNY's Board of Trustees. One of the major reasons for the slow development of public higher education has been the interest of the members of the Board of Regents in supporting private higher education. SUNY was created in 1948, but it developed very slowly until the Rockefeller administration, when the executive branch strongly backed the rapid development of SUNY's campuses. The State Budget Office exercised considerable control over the SUNY and CUNY systems, and correspondingly, the New York City government exercises even closer controls over the operations of the CUNY campuses. There is a State Planning Office under the control of the executive branch, but it has not been directly involved in higher education matters beyond expediting the PPBS system on behalf of the Budget Office. Because of the ways in which the New York state and city governments have exerted control over the development of public higher education and the critical decisions often made by the Board of Regents, the New York system is judged to be relatively centralized.

Upon the recommendations of the Heald Report, the state legislature enacted a law requiring SUNY and CUNY to prepare comprehensive segmental plans every four years and to update them on an annual basis. In the planning process, the Board of Regents essentially compiles the plans prepared by SUNY and CUNY into a statewide plan which is submitted to the legislature and the governor. SUNY and CUNY engaged in the most sophisticated planning of any of the segments studied; the planning involves many different groups, is goal-oriented, broad in scope, based on research, and closely integrated with facilities and fiscal plans.

Since the New York network is a "Mixed B" type, that is, a network in which statewide interests are somewhat more dominant than institutional interests, it was expected that educational autonomy at the local institutional level would be medium. However, as shown in Table 12, a somewhat higher level of autonomy was actually observed. In fact, important shifts toward greater autonomy characterized the historical development of most segments within New York's higher education network.

SUNY's level of autonomy has progressively increased since the early 1960s to a present level of medium-high; the segment has been given increasing freedom to made decisions about academic programs and the deployment of finances and personnel. State agencies have decreased their routine perusal of SUNY activities in the areas of new programs, preaudit of budgets, the purchase of equipment, and the appointment of personnel. Significant points of tension persist, however, with respect to establishing appropriate roles for the State Education Department in the review and approval of new graduate and undergraduate programs. Problems also continue to arise in connection with the implementation of a Program-Planning-and-Budgeting-System, an especially difficult process now as the state faces impending fiscal crises because of growing public resentment over the conduct of a vocal minority of dissident students.

How these issues are resolved and what effect the resolutions may have on the future autonomy of SUNY is difficult to anticipate.

The level of educational autonomy is different in the different components of SUNY. The four University Centers, which have received developmental priorities, enjoy a relatively high degree of autonomy. Their autonomy has progressively increased from a time when efforts were made to limit each campus's educational mission and role to its current pattern of comprehensive development.

The Colleges of Arts and Sciences, which represent some of the oldest public institutions in the state, have also won increasing amounts of educational autonomy. Whereas earlier definitions of their missions and roles concentrated exclusively on teacher training, plans during the 1960s led to a major opening up of these campuses to the full range of arts and sciences curricula at the undergraduate and master's degree levels. Moreover, encouragement has been given to some of these colleges, especially the two newer campuses, to design new methods and innovative structures to implement their educational functions. Only one campus sought to become a university center, and thus felt cramped with its existing mission and role. The faculty and staff interviewed at most other colleges of arts and sciences appeared satisfied with the general pattern of educational development. Based on these data, these institutions were rated at a medium-high level of educational autonomy.

As in all states, the community colleges are subjected to the controls of a double bureaucracy, i.e., the local districts and SUNY's central office. However, community colleges are exposed to a special pattern of control that arises from the peculiar organizational structure of SUNY. All the types of institutions--universities, state colleges, community colleges, and the like--are housed under a common governing board and central office. A separate unit in SUNY's central office, headed by a Vice Chancellor, is responsible for the coordination and planning of community colleges on a statewide basis. In the area of program development, new degree and curriculum procedures exist which, in essence, establish a joint decision-making apparatus composed of the central office and local campuses. The judgment of medium educational autonomy was based mainly on the nature of this arrangement, and on certain unresolved issues about the role, structure, programs, and financing of these institutions. More specifically, a special study is underway to examine such issues as the division of labor with respect to vocational-technical and continuing education programs between two-year colleges, the arts and sciences colleges, and local high schools. Formulas for financing community colleges and related problems are also being studied, and the outcome of these studies could significantly shape the future level of educational autonomy of these institutions.

The category of special institutions in general had high autonomy. Such state contract arrangements as those with Cornell and Syracuse benefited from the high autonomy status of these private institutions. On the other hand, the agricultural-technical colleges enjoyed high autonomy if they remained within the special mission assigned to them. A few of these institutions wanted to broaden into more comprehensive educational programs, but were constrained by SUNY's administration.

The composite judgment for CUNY is similar to that of SUNY. In general, CUNY has moved in the direction of relatively low to medium autonomy, although the barriers facing CUNY's institutions involved one additional bureaucratic layer--the city government. In its early period, CUNY did not even have a chancellor's office, and was directly subject to the controls of various city agencies. When the chancellor's office was established in the early 1960s, talented leadership was secured and some of the more pressing city controls were removed. State funds have increased from 25 percent to 50 percent, and the 1968 plan asked for a 75 percent level of support. On the one hand, these funds have provided support for much needed programs and facilities and thus represent a gain in autonomy. On the other hand, the state government bureaucracies continue to exercise more control over CUNY's academic development. The 1961 Planning Law was an important step toward expanding the state's surveillance powers over public higher education. More recently, state government officials have insisted that no funds would be approved in budgets unless programs were presented and justified in long range plans.

The various components of CUNY present a mixed picture of educational autonomy. The six universities within CUNY have a medium level of autonomy, since these institutions are subject to program controls from three different bureaucracies--CUNY's central office, various city government agencies, and various state government agencies. During the early 1960s these controls seemed especially oppressive, but the community colleges are in a more difficult position than the universities, being subject to the controls of five bureaucracies--the same three listed above plus two others--the SUNY central office and local boards. This situation has indeed produced operational uncertainties and administrative problems. Control over programs and related support activities is so dispersed under such an organizational design that their level of educational autonomy had to be judged as low. The various special institutions in CUNY, such as the police academy, were not visited as a part of this study, are considered to be a minor part of the CUNY operation, and were not rated.

The segment-by-segment analysis revealed that the level of educational autonomy fluctuated more for different types of institutions in New York that in any other state. As the historical data indicate, there have been substantial shifts during the last ten years, during which public institutions have gained educational autonomy. The theoretical expectations were thus supported. The forging of key working relationships between various levels of the interorganizational network under the direction of able leadership, especially between 1961 and 1967, has enabled public higher education in New York to expand very rapidly and increase its educational autonomy at the same time.

MAJOR FINDINGS

Statewide coordinating and planning agencies have progressively moved into the mainstream of higher education matters since World War II. This has inevitably meant that colleges and universities have sacrificed some of their traditional independence with respect to the scope of their educational objectives and their plans for long-term development and expansion. Critical decisions about such matters as student admissions standards, campus size, new institutions, teaching loads, high cost programs, utilization of physical space, and scholarship programs, which were formerly considered the exclusive province of individual institutions, have increasingly been defined as matters of vital public interest.

These general observations, the comparisons between states, and the detailed analyses of the states, have led to the following conclusions:

Statewide planning has controlled for the expansion of new campuses and new educational programs.

One of the central responsibilities of coordinating planning agencies has been to insure the orderly development of state higher education. In most states, coordinating agencies have established relatively elaborate procedures by which new campuses are authorized and new educational programs are approved. Insuring proper geographical distribution of new campuses has been one of the central tasks of coordinating agencies. State-supported systems of junior colleges have been designed, for instance, to bring the college to the doorstep of the student. In addition, state scholarship and loan programs have been designed not only to meet the needs of high ability students but also those of various socioeconomic and ability groups heretofore excluded from college.

Although the initiative may still remain with the individual college or university to develop proposals for campus or program expansion, coordinating agencies either have the responsibility for deciding on the feasibility of such proposals, usually assessing them in terms of the state's master educational plan, or making recommendations to the state. Statewide planning agencies, then, have effectively asserted themselves to prevent unnecessary campus expansion and program proliferation.

Statewide planning has served to initiate and/or stimulate the widespread development of institutional planning.

Not only has statewide planning involved many representatives from colleges and universities in the planning process at the statewide level, but it has often served to provide models of the minimum essentials for sound educational planning. Usually statewide planning efforts have been designed to gather systematic data from the various colleges and universities--data which the institutions often had not collected about themselves, and of which they became beneficiaries as a result of planning activities. Furthermore, the federal government and a growing member of states require that colleges and universities prepare certain types of plans in order to qualify for financial assistance. Although some critics have been concerned about the overemphasis upon the quantitative means-oriented approach in this kind of planning (Palola, Lehmann, & Blischke, 1968b), in many ways statewide planning has facilitated and encouraged the development of institutional planning.

Statewide planning has served to extend educational opportunities and to meet new educational and social needs.

The past two decades have been decades of mammoth expansion of higher education. Statewide planning in most states has been concerned with extending educational opportunities to new social groups heretofore excluded from college, and new students now attending colleges and universities number in the millions. The junior college concept and the more recent senior college concept were designed to serve new students and to meet different educational needs. In addition, colleges and universities have expanded their more traditional research and public service functions to serve new social, professional, technical, and governmental needs on a vast scale.

Statewide planning has served to justify the increasing operating and capital budgets of the higher education enterprise.

Since statewide coordinating agencies usually have the power to decide on budgets for higher education, or to make recommendations to the legislature, these agencies have endeavored to bring some degree of order and standardization to the budgetary process, heretofore a highly individualistic matter. Statewide budget formulas have been developed which are designed to meet the differentiated costs per student by type of academic program and type of institution. In the process of reaching agreement on budgetary policies and formulas, institutions of higher learning and the legislature and state departments of finance have expressed their confidence in the work of coordinating agencies. As a consequence of these budgetary activities, higher education as a whole has been able to request and receive increasingly higher levels of state financial support.

Statewide planning has made efforts to promote institutional differentiation.

One of the most difficult tasks facing statewide coordinating agencies has been that of insuring some degree of institutional differentiation, and not many states have a record of successfully achieving such differentiation. In California, differentiation was legislatively mandated to the segment level, but much dissatisfaction exists over this rigid approach to the question; most of the differentiation is at the segment level and not at the institutional level. Illinois has adopted a much more flexible, nonlegal approach in its system of systems arrangement. Few segmental boards have tried, through planning efforts, to achieve a realistic degree of differentiation among the various campuses, and statewide and segmental planners still face this difficult task in the coming decade.

The conclusions mentioned above are a summary of the major strengths of statewide planning. The following ones identify the most significant shortcomings of this process:

Statewide planning has been unable to define and eliminate unnecessary duplication of programs, nor has it been successful in discontinuing obsolete, inadequate, or expired programs.

Unnecessary duplication and program obsolescence have been particularly baffling problems for statewide planners. In an era of rapid educational expansion and massive development of new educational programs, statewide planners have directed their attention to the control of new programs and confined themselves to making rhetorical statements about the difficulties of eliminating unnecessary programs. Acceptable procedures have been developed to process and approve new program units, but no similar efforts have been made to formulate procedures for reviewing existing programs. In some states, such as Illinois and Texas, the coordinating board has the authority to review programs and to recommend their discontinuance if they are educationally or economically unjustified, but many colleges and universities throughout the country continue to offer educational programs which unnecessarily duplicate those given in nearby institutions or are educationally obsolescent.

Statewide planning has failed to integrate the private sector with the public sector in the orderly development of higher education.

There are many reasons why statewide planners have been unable to integrate the educational efforts of private and public institutions into a more coordinated statewide plan. Legislation has usually excluded the private sector from the direct jurisdiction of coordinating agencies, which are primarily concerned with promoting the orderly development of public higher education. When the interests of private institutions (including church-related colleges and universities) have been considered in statewide planning, they generally have been involved on the periphery of planning efforts. An additional difficulty has stemmed from the vexing constitutional and legal questions raised under the separation of church and state doctrine.

Added to this lack of inclusion in planning by coördinating agencies was the traditional disinclination of most private colleges and universities to enter into the activities of statewide planners; denominational institutions and certain highly selective and prestigious institutions participated only to the extent of supplying data about selected activities of their operations. In the past few years, however, private institutions have begun to experience some of the impact from the development of public institutions and have felt growing financial strains. As a result, some private institutions are taking a new look at themselves, as well as reconsidering their earlier indifference to statewide planning efforts.

⑨

Statewide planning has failed to promote cooperative efforts between institutions on a large scale.

Because statewide planners have focused on the individual institutions as the basic unit for planning purposes, state budgeting agencies have always dealt with the individual institutions, and colleges and universities have their long tradition of acting as relatively independent entities, any development of large scale financing for interinstitutional cooperation has been difficult. There is no question that state budgeting policies serve as important roadblocks to experimenting with large scale cooperative ventures, and that statewide planning has not given high priority to this type of endeavor. Yet the need for cooperation has become so apparent that a few states have made pioneering efforts in this direction.

Statewide planning has given insufficient direct attention to the issues of quality, excellence, and substance in higher education.

Although most statewide plans contain rhetoric about quality and excellence, only a few states have gone beyond this rhetoric to specify the criteria for excellence in higher education. Few attempts have been made to specify alternative forms of quality education for different types of educational institutions and students. In general, statewide planning has been concerned with the problems of expansion, new institutions, physical facilities, and financial resources, rather than with issues ultimately related to students, teaching, and learning.

Statewide planning activities have served to unify the higher education network in some states, but to fragment it in others.

The unification of individual and sometimes competing institutional interests into a coherent statewide plan acceptable to the leaders of higher education, as well as to the leaders of state government, has been achieved in several states, notably New York and Illinois. As a result, higher education in those states has been able to secure the legislative and executive support to implement key recommendations of statewide educational plans.

In other states, such as Florida, an effective coalition of leadership between higher education and state government has not developed, and the higher education network is fragmented. There is no statewide planning in a comprehensive sense, and interinstitutional competition, rather than interinstitutional cooperation and coordination, is the dominant mode of interaction.

If statewide plans are to be successful, the importance of effective leadership coalitions of the various groups in the higher education network cannot be stressed enough (Palola, 1968c). One close participant in these coalitions (Gould, 1966) put it:

> The more subtle personal contacts which are the warp and woof of the fabric of this (university-state government) relationship defy rules and definitions and formulas. They differ in every single instance, even though they are the true means by which the delicate balance of authority, responsibility, and interdependence existing between the university and state government is maintained, or, when matters go awry, is upset. They represent the interplay of personalities, the development of attitudes on the part of these personalities reflecting a clear understanding of respective roles and motivations, and most of all the creation of a climate of mutual trust and respect /pp. 3-4/.

With few notable exceptions, statewide planning has been an ad hoc process.

Statewide planning in most states has not evolved into the comprehensive, rational model described in Chap. I. Instead, what comes under the rubric of statewide planning is ad hoc in nature, lacking in continuity, often conducted by consultants from outside the state, based upon little systematic research, and involving a limited number of people within the state, who are motivated by altruism and donate their services (Palola, 1969). Most planning to date has concerned itself primarily with economics and efficiency; the importance of planning at all levels in the higher education network still needs to be communicated.

On the basis of specific findings and the data assembled about educational autonomy in the four states studied, the following overall conclusion was reached:

On the whole, educational autonomy and the level of performance of colleges and universities have improved as a result of statewide planning and coordination during the period of massive expansion in higher education.

Statewide planning and coordinating agencies adopt a perspective and role which are broader in scope than that of individual institutions, or of segments of similar institutions. By attempting to chart out the public interest in higher education, statewide planning and coordination hopes to overcome what are in many states long-established patterns of dominance by a single public institution. The fact that statewide legal entities exist in most states today indicates that colleges and universities have relinquished some of their traditional and formal autonomy. Yet a number of conditions have offset this formal loss of educational autonomy by the institutions.

In the past two decades, colleges and universities, state governments, and the entire nation have seriously worked to implement the long-cherished democratic ideal of universal higher education. The greatest expansion in the history of higher education has taken place in the United States during the past decade, and state and federal governments have increased the levels of financial support so that the vast expansion could take place in an orderly fashion. What this educational affluence has meant for individual colleges and universities is that the more formal and legal loss of autonomy has been almost completely offset by the pressures to expand operations and programs as fast as possible. This pressure for expansion has been so great that several institutions have almost literally been overwhelmed with problems of excessive growth. The major conclusion to be drawn from these facts is that most colleges and universities have been able to expand and develop their educational programs in the directions that they desired even though substantial decision-making power had been legally centralized at the statewide level. Informally, then, colleges and universities have been able to maintain their educational autonomy.

During this period of mammoth and rapid expansion, statewide planning and coordinating agencies have served a vital function in helping to define and promote a more balanced and orderly pattern of growth. To the extent that higher education continues to expand during the 1970s, it is highly probably that statewide coordinating and planning agencies will continue to promote the educational autonomy of colleges and universities.

There are some signs on the horizon, however, that in the next ten years coordinating agencies will play a much more active and directive role in the development of state higher education. One important signpost lies in the fact that in three of the four states investigated, Democratic governors and generally Democratic legislatures held power during most of the 1960s. In the fourth state, New York, the more liberal Rockefeller administration, although Republican, developed higher education policies which fit the same trends found in the other states. The policies and master plans formulated during the 1955-1966 period represented an optimistic, expansive, higher education "can do no wrong" philosophy. Since 1966, however, basic changes have been underway that reflect a new mood across the nation about the future direction and control of higher education.

In the fall of 1966, Republican governors were elected in California and Florida, and legislatures began to reflect a more conservative posture toward higher education. In 1968, a Republican governor came into office in Illinois, along with a Republican-controlled legislature. All these governors, upon entering office, ordered a ten percent cutback in the budgets of all state agencies, and adopted a perspective of scientific management for state government operations based upon that used in business and industry, with an emphasis on economy, efficiency, and a balanced budget. As a result, higher education has lost some of its former "sacred cow" status and is being treated more like a state agency.

The recent and well-publicized activities of students and faculties on the nation's campuses have also served to provide a further incentive for state governments to formulate more conservative and restrictive policies over higher education. The upsurge in student demonstrations and riots and the equally important demands advanced by faculty organizations have caused statewide policy-makers to take a more serious and direct look at higher education. Just at the point when many observers and educators thought of higher education as reaching new levels of success, and just when higher education was beginning to receive state and federal funds on a massive scale, new measures for control and containment are being considered.

Statewide coordinating agencies are caught in the midst of these growing crises and mounting pressures. They are faced with increased pressures by state government officials and the general public to control the expensive higher education enterprise more closely and insure its efficient and economical management. And during a period when higher education itself has been significantly politicized, important tests will be made of the capacities of coordinating agencies to exert proper controls over a massively expanded arena. Given also the fact that the rate of growth in higher education during the next decade will be somewhat less than it was in the past two decades, coordinating agencies are very likely to have to confront the basic issues that received only minimal attention during the 1960s. Thus, the theoretical problem originally proposed in the first chapter of the present research, of continually reassessing the relationship between statewide needs and the interests of higher education while insuring a reasonable level of the educational autonomy of colleges and universities, will stand as a major source of tension in the future.

IX

Problems in Responsibility and Authority

> To organize the total higher education system so as to foster the individuality of institutions which meet differing aspects of the total need, without promoting local and partisan influence that will obstruct the accomplishment of statewide objectives and priorities--this is the task the states face in developing structures for governance and coordination (Abbott, 1969).

The central goal of the present study was to assess how four states worked out the problem of meeting statewide needs for higher education while leaving individual institutions free to pursue their own educational objectives. In the case study chapters of California, Florida, Illinois, and New York, an analysis of each state addressed itself to the theoretical problem and presented findings and conclusions about the impact of statewide planning upon local campuses.

It is necessary, however, to go beyond the empirical setting and provide a framework within which certain problems of responsibility and authority can be rationally resolved in state networks of education. Most writing on this subject has taken either an exclusively statewide or institutional perspective or a vague middle position about the "balance" of statewide interests and institutional interests. The attempt here will be to present a model which specifies the responsibilities and authorities at each of the three levels--statewide, segmental, and institutional. Of critical importance is the type and process of planning being conducted at these three primary levels of the network hierarchy. Thus, the contribution of this chapter will be to explicate how a state's higher education needs can be planned to provide a reasonable and defensible allocation of responsibilities and authority throughout a network without emphasizing the interests of any single group.

Previous efforts to lay out certain recommendations and principles to effect a more balanced perspective between statewide and institutional needs (Brumbaugh, 1963; The Committee on Government and Higher Education, 1959; Paltridge, 1968; and Pliner, 1966) have neither focused on a central issue nor been clearly related to the defining characteristics of different types of statewide networks for higher education. The usefulness of these guidelines is limited, therefore, by abstractness and the lack of focus. The following excerpts illustrate the point:

> Legislative interim committees and service agencies should continue their valuable function of keeping legislatures informed, but they should never act as instruments of control over educational administration (The Committee on Government and Higher Education, 1957).
>
> The master plan should develop means of controlling unnedessary and undesirable proliferation and duplication of programs... There is agreement among persons knowledgeable in master planning that the plan be comprehensive and establish long-range goals for higher education (Pliner, 1966).

Such unanalyzed abstractions are frequent in the literature on statewide planning and coordination.

A Planning Model

The following is a planning model (PM) for higher education which applies to statewide networks and identifies an appropriate set of planning tasks for each of the three different levels often found within a network. Judgments about appropriate roles for each level are based on two considerations:

That the planning functions performed at one level within the network should supplement the functions undertaken at other levels. This avoids, or at least minimizes, duplication of effort and facilitates the work at each level. Furthermore, conflicts between levels can serve in important ways to result in more precise agreements and more satisfactory bases for cooperation.

That the technical competence or expertise and knowledge of the members at different levels within the network be utilized effectively. Persons at each level possess a certain fund of experience, understanding, and information which makes them the most competent individuals to work on certain types of planning problems. Expertness includes not only sufficient training, exposure to a variety of key experiences, and the possession of important basic information, but also a special point-of-view or perspective--such as a sensitivity to and appreciation of problems, circumstances, and events critical to the planning function at a given level. For example, an especially effective planner at the segmental level is one who is concerned with the type and quality of engineering programs across all institutions in the segment rather than with the structure of the engineering program at any particular institution.

It is important to realize that the model being proposed is an ideal one. No state's system of educational planning now fits all dimensions or features of the model, nor is it expected that PM could be implemented as designed. In order to achieve PM, several critical conditions must co-exist: Planning must be performed effectively at the statewide, segmental, and institutional levels, and be concerned with the problems and issues peculiar to that level but also aware that it is subsidiary to a totally integrated plan for the entire statewide network.

Underlying Assumptions

Two classes of assumptions are important to any discussion of PM--status quo and change. Status quo assumptions are based on the conclusion reached by numerous studies that colleges and universities are conservative institutions and that hence no major changes will occur in them. More specifically, it is assumed: 1) that no basic changes will occur in the formal structure and pattern of governance in higher education, and that higher education will continue to be organized on a state-by-state basis; 2) that statewide coordinating agencies will continue in their roles of planning, guiding, and sometimes determining the future patterns of higher education growth and development; 3) that segments of institutions serving similar educational roles and missions, with their own boards and central staff, will persist; 4) that individual institutions will continue to be the most fundamental planning and budgeting units in statewide higher education networks; 5) that although the use of institutional consortia may increase to save costs, budgets will still be built for individual campuses, and planning will continue to foster the identity of individual campuses; and 6) that while instruction by television and programmed instruction will very likely increase and lead to more off-campus study, the dominant pattern will continue to be on-campus instruction.

Assumptions about significant features of higher education that are changing and will continue to do so in the future, are the following: 1) that current tensions make it difficult to specify how formal and informal authority will be distributed among students, faculty, and administrators, and what relations between on- and off-campus groups will be; 2) that change is imminent, but its direction uncertain, although the general trends suggest that students will have a greater role in academic decision-making, budget-making will be increasingly explicit and systematic, and the federal government will be more involved in the financing of higher education; 3) that although in the past two decades, statewide, segmental, and institutional planning has been typically quantitative, routine, means-oriented, and concerned with logistics, future planning in education is likely to be more comprehensive, continuous, better grounded in systematic research, and with changing priorities among multiple goals; 4) that much greater attention will be given to ways of effectively interlocking and readjusting planning activities at the statewide, segmental, and institutional levels; 5) that while the importance of a theoretical and empirical separation of politics and higher education has been much stressed in the past, in the future politics and the interests of key elected officials and groups of citizens will play an even greater role in shaping higher education. Ryan (1969) caught the essence of this latter concern when he stated:

> The more valuable the university becomes to both the conservators and changers of society, the more each will bring pressure, including political pressure, to bear on university decision-making /p. 9/.

These constantly changing features require an "open systems" perspective in higher education. Such a system operates not so much on specific assignments of duties and responsibilities as on general agreements. The distribution of authority is fluid, and workable relationships between individuals and groups are established through negotiation. Whereas a "closed system" model places great emphasis on establishing the location of final authority, or "where the buck stops," open systems theory is much less definite on this point. In fact, an open systems theorist would more likely argue that "the buck never stops," at least not in the sense that final authority is firmly established for all matters. In an open systems statewide network of higher education, for example, no assignment of final responsibility would be made for building new campuses, creating new curricula, or setting salary schedules, teaching loads, promotional policies, and the like. Open systems place greater emphasis on events and relationships through time and on making necessary adjustments (even radical change) to adapt to new and urgent pressures. Literature on the year 2000 suggests the nature of these pressures.

The following four principles further explicate a model for educational planning:

Principle One--Program Formulation

> Program formulation is the single most important task for planners. Decisions about finances, facilities, and personnel are of secondary importance, although they must be consistent with program priorities.

The formulation of programs requires clarification. Here it includes proposals for new programs, proposals to change or reshape existing programs, and even suggestions to phase out or totally eliminate some existing programs. Continuous review of current programs and examination of new program needs is fundamental to program formulation.

Earlier in the study, program definition was mentioned as one important means of identifying the mission and role of an institution (Chapter 1). Institutional mission and role could be made at least partially operational in terms of the programs of instruction offered by a college or university. But institutional mission and role include more than programs of instruction; they also include research activities and public service programs. The important factors are the relative emphases given each program on a given campus and the way in which these programs are, in fact, implemented. It is the way in which the conception and implementation of programs are integrated that ultimately determine the educational mission and role of a given institution. And it is this concern with programs that is the major point of Principle One in the Planning Model. The relative importance assigned to various academic disciplines and areas identifies "what the institution is all about." It is a reflection, presumably, of an institution's value commitments.

Thus far, educational planning in most states emphasizes quantitative expansion and growth rather than the substantive educational items suggested above. Current priorities are almost the reverse of what is prescribed in Principle One, and matters of finances, facilities, and personnel routinely take precedence over discussions of programs and the relative emphases to be given to instruction, research, and public service. Principle One, then, proposes a radical shift in the basic strategy of educational planning; programs would receive first priority, while finances, facilities, and personnel would be examined for how they best support and implement program objectives. In this process attention is addressed to the problems of necessary and unnecessary duplication of programs in different institutions. The implementation of Principle One is discussed in more detail as the other three principles are examined.

Principle Two--Planning as Process

> Decision-making about program formulation and reappraisal is a process that involves a close interplay of the tasks of initiation, decision, and implementation, and considerable negotiation occurs between institutional, segmental, and statewide levels.

The second principle contains two points. First, program formulation is viewed as an ongoing activity, continuously practiced, rather than one engaged in only once every 5 or 10 years. In one form it means developing requests for new programs; in another form it necessitates important modifications of a current program; in still another, it may mean the complete removal of a program. As yet, this last type of program assessment has received only scant attention in most educational planning.

The second point of Principle Two is concerned with the several facets of program initiation, program decision, and program implementation as highly interdependent activities. It is not fruitful to think about these as distinct steps or stages in a clearly rationalized process. The distinctions between who initiates, who decides, and who implements are clouded by many contingencies. The constraints on the process of program formulation are mainly those of demonstrable need, availability of resources and competencies to nourish programs, maintenance of balance among political forces within a given higher education network, desirability of experimentation, and the short- and long-range implications of various program decisions for the program itself, and for the institution that plans to offer the program. These kinds of considerations depict how the decision-making process actually works. For an institution to propose a program that cannot be justified on the basis of demonstrable need is tantamount to soliciting a negative decision, and it is unrealistic planning to seek a program that requires resources which are currently unavailable. A major exception to this point is that of experimental programs. The need for new approaches and innovative strategies in a particular case may be quite apparent, but predictions of the outcomes of an experiment are very likely to be vague. This situation calls for some risk-taking and the availability of venture capital.

And lastly, efforts by an institution to add a medical school, a school of engineering, or even a satellite campus, may be blocked by statewide plans and controls in order to preserve a balance of political forces within the network. If, for instance, statewide plans permitted the dominant institution in a state to incorporate or establish new campuses or major programs as it desired, then this institution would likely develop so much political muscle that any statewide plan not consistent with the desires of this institution could be effectively ignored.

Furthermore, these four contingencies shape the planning roles for network members in several important ways. Principle Three proposes that the three levels of statewide networks share responsibility and authority in planning.

Principle Three--Responsibilities

> Institutions, segments, and statewide agencies divide the labor of program formulation: the institution's major task is to define program needs; the segment's major task is to define broadly the missions and roles of its institutions; and the statewide agency's major task is to define broadly the missions and roles of its segments so that statewide needs (public interest) are adequately met.

Nowhere in the literature on planning or administrative theory does one find a careful explication of the basic concepts contained in Principle Three--the public interest, institutional mission and role, and program needs. The following discussion is an attempt to fill this void.

References to "the public interest" are frequent in the fields of education and political science. However, Lindblom (1968) correctly characterizes current usages of the term when he says, "clearly there is no general agreement on what constitutes the public interest."

Lippman (1955) discusses the term and, in general, suggests that what the largest number of people want constitutes the "public interest." He points up, however, that such a definition is unrealistic because the will of the majority is predicated on the belief of "what men could choose if they saw clearly, thought rationally, acted disinterestedly and benevolently."

But a more realistic approach would define "the public interest" in important matters in higher education as the product of two forces--the perceptions and efforts of the professional staff of statewide planning agencies and political factors. Several types of items may constitute issues of public policy. One major issue for all states is how best to achieve universal higher education. A related question is the emphasis given the development of special programs forthe disadvantaged. The role of colleges and universities in the urban crisis, poverty, and race relations is of considerable importance to various groups. The judgment of statewide planners about these issues is based on studies, special reports, and the advice of knowledgeable people. This professional expertise constitutes one important input in defining the public interest.

The second factor important in defining the public interest was clearly identified by one state senator in an interview:

> It must always be remembered that no planning scheme removes the political implications of decision-making. It's always better to have a valid political solution to a problem than something that looks "rational" according to some planning studies. Without valid political solutions, we'd end up with chaos!

Thus, the second major input in defining the public interest is political. Although most provisions of plans arouse no particular concern in elected state officials or their constituencies, the few items that do must reflect a careful assessment of the political dimension. Certain kinds of recommendations, perhaps those for a new institution, for instance, must be made from a politically justifiable position. Without political support, making the recommendations is an exercise in futility.

The public interest in statewide planning for higher education can be most fruitfully viewed as a combination of technical and political factors, and recommendations in state plans are presumably based on these major factors. One pragmatic test of how well these factors were thought through in the planning process is whether the plan is subsequently endorsed by the legislature and governor.

On the segmental level of a state's higher education network, it is the major responsibility of the staff to broadly define the missions and roles of institutions within its segment, which includes some mixture of three major programs--instruction, research, and public service. The relative emphases given each of these program areas and theways in which each program is implemented can be taken to define the basic value commitments of an institution. That planners should make "broad" definitions suggests that at the segmental level they would make recommendations about: 1) how much emphasis should be put on programs of teaching, research, or public interest; 2) the breadth of undergraduate and graduate programs and curricula; 3) undergraduate versus graduate and professional education; 4) maximum campus size; and 5) cooperative arrangements with other campuses. The following illustrations of this procedure in operation is drawn from California.

In 1966, a document entitled, Planned Growth of the University of California, was issued by the statewide office of the university. It included a general statement about the mission and role of its several existing campuses, and proposed new campuses, each to be developed as a general campus with a special emphasis. Although the concept of a general campus is not clearly articulated in the "Growth Plan," the discussion of possible emphases on each campus illustrates some of the criteria mentioned earlier by which an institution's mission and role can be defined as broad:

> The proposed...campuses might need to restrict their maximum enrollments to 15,000...These campuses might capitalize on their metropolitan setting by a close association with the Junior Colleges in the area...
>
> The Los Angeles Central Area campus could take advantage of its urban location by developing an academic organization directed toward apprenticeship educational campuses...A College of Performing Arts might develop educational programs in cooperation with the Los Angeles Civic Music Center...
>
> The proposed San Francisco campus could have an initial commitment to the concept of man as a biologic entity and of the city as a meaningful unit...the San Francisco campus might attempt a valid integration of modern physics with the biological and social sciences...The international setting should also promote a special posture on the part of this campus...professional education in law, architecture, business administration and other areas could be provided...
>
> In addition to the development of a general campus [in the San Joaquin Valley], programs in graduate instruction and research in the agricultural and health sciences might be contemplated... [pp. 5-8].

A significant restriction on the role of segmental planners is that they do not deal with institutions' internal programs and curricular structure, allowing an institution authorized to develop a School of Nursing or College of Environmental Design, for example, to have the widest possible latitude in determining courses and programs.

At the institutional level lies the major responsibility for determining program needs. An academic program is defined here as an undergraduate or graduate curriculum that can result in the awarding of a degree, diploma, or certificate. Research programs are usually defined by the existence of a special organizational unit, such as a center or institute. And public service programs cover a wide range of activities, including agricultural extensions, adult education, teaching and research hospitals, child care units, community health centers, fine arts, performing arts, and similar areas. Thus, establishing and implementing new programs, or evaluating and reorienting existing ones requires careful examination of almost all of an institution's basic policies. This would include institutional mission and role, programs, curricula, methods and forms of instruction; recruitment, selection, promotion, and general welfare of the faculty; admissions criteria, academic standards, and student affairs; and finances and facilities. There is no question that a comprehensive study of program needs calls for a full-scale and continuous process of institutional planning (Palola, et al., 1968; Palola, 1970).

That the task of program formulation should be distributed at the three levels in statewide networks is in accordance with a principle of administration, which states: Each level in the educational hierarchy should be concerned with the policy matters that pertain to those units immediately below it. For example, the primary responsibility for statewide planners, once the public interest in higher education has been defined, is to serve as a forum for policy disputes that arise between the various segment boards about their respective functions. For example, a dispute between two segments (one composed of universities and the other of state colleges) over the offering of the doctoral degree should result in a joint decision between the statewide agency and the segments which defines the particular responsibility of each segment. These agreements may also result in creating boundaries of overlap. Similarly, the primary responsibility of segment planners is to serve as a forum for disputes between competing institutions under its jurisdiction; a segmental board for universities might, for example, develop in conjunction with the universities a plan for deciding which of the institutions that may wish to start a medical school should be permitted to do so.

The process outlined here is significantly more time-consuming than existing arrangements in many states. Much more time is given to the exploration of alternatives, the solicitation of expert advice and consultation, and the deliberation of short- and long-term consequences. Given the current qualitative crises in higher education, it is difficult to see how present arrangements will suffice. Currently, the principles of bureaucracy, including the clear assignment of authority and responsibility to maximize efficient operation, are dominant. In contrast to this, more flexible and fluid arrangements, based on open participation and full utilization of professionals, seems necessary.

An extremely important assumption underlying Principle Three is that the educational autonomy of institutions is maintained by their primary role in program definition; various opportunities for discussion and mediation during planning also help maintain local autonomy. Obviously, however, this process occurs within the context of possibilities and constraints of a larger statewide network.

Principle Four--Contingencies

> Various exceptions or contingencies occur in the process of program formulation: a) high cost and joint programs necessitate segmentwide and/or statewide review; b) program gaps are identified by suprainstitutional agencies; c) jurisdictional disputes about programs between institutions or other units within the network are mediated at the next higher level in the network; d) when a unit does not perform its task in program formulation, then the next higher level in the network assumes the responsibility; and e) special steps are taken by higher level agencies within the network to respect the independence of institutions with constitutional autonomy.

The fourth principle simply acknowledges several important contingencies related to the distribution of authority over program formulation within a statewide higher education network. These contingencies are not equally significant in future educational planning, two of them having been designed to specify the locus of responsibility when neither the division of labor within the network nor institutional differentiation provides adequate guidelines for coping with certain problems.

More complicated are problems related to constitutional autonomy and the planning, coordination, and governance of colleges and universities. For instance, a number of actions attributed to the governor of the state have raised serious questions about the meaning of constitutional autonomy for the University of California. These included removal of the university's president, "capturing" education through appointments to segmental and statewide boards, forcing severe financial adjustments for public colleges and universities, withdrawing from university chancellors the power to make faculty appointments, and declaring a state of emergency and calling the National Guard to protect students and citizens during turmoil at the university in 1969. Similar actions in other states, although less dramatic and more circumscribed in scope, increasingly place the constitutional autonomy of institutions in question. The issue of autonomy is not likely to become less critical, since the trends in higher education clearly point to greater federal involvement and closer planning on a statewide basis.

Many writers on the future of society also stress the need for planning, but especially planning that is more leading, guiding, and directing (Etzioni, Friedmann, Galbraith, Gardner, and Michael). Much contemporary planning in education is forced by extrainstitutional pressures, however, and thus is seen in mainly negative terms, namely constraining, restrictive, stifling. More attention could be addressed to the positive aspects of planning; opportunities in education to use planning as a basis for continuous self-renewal remain largely untapped.

Of the contingencies listed in Principle Four, the two that are most central are those that focus on programs. They identify changes in conventional definitions of higher education and bring into focus new areas of development. In a recent paper, Glenny (1969) discussed several problems requiring changes in the units of measurement for high cost programs, such as medicine, dentistry, nursing, certain areas of engineering, and doctoral training in the sciences. These will generally continue to be identified as high cost programs and thus be given special attention in long-range planning and program development, but the existing units of measurement upon which complex management information systems are being developed do not fully reflect new conceptions of higher education, which include various forms of individualized instruction and off-campus education. As a consequence, areas of ambiguity are arising, and this problem demands considerable attention.

The increasing use of joint programming between institutions is yet another example of new academic definitions that require special provisions and new arrangements. Nonpublic institutions are particularly attracted to cooperative endeavors as a way of stretching their existing investments in facilities, equipment, and instructional staff. Cooperative arrangements initially involved various nonacademic areas, such as purchasing, insurance coverage, and accounting procedures, but recently these have expanded to include educational programming. For public institutions, the increased interest in joint programming seems to be responsive to the increasing mobility of students and the growing variety of off-campus learning environments.

Structural Requirements

It is possible to outline, in a general way, the type of interorganizational network that could make maximum use of the four principles.

According to the theoretical framework, educational autonomy at the institutional level is most consistently heightened when planning is fragmented and the statewide network is undifferentiated and decentralized (Table 1). The purpose of a Planning Model is to explicate how planning can be done for an entire state's higher education needs by providing a reasonable and defensible allocation of responsibilities and authority throughout all groups in the network. Instead of an ION in which educational autonomy is emphasized, a "mixed" type of ION is needed which provides for both statewide and institutional needs on a balanced basis.

Within these general features, more detail can be given about an ideal structure for planning. Many of these basic ideas, presented in an earlier paper (Palola, 1968), capture the essence of the proposed structure. First, a statewide board is needed whose primary responsibility is the coordination of planning for higher education. Such a board would have a majority of lay members (say 10 out of 15) and encompass all segments of higher education (vocational/technical centers, junior colleges, four-year colleges, and universities) both public and private. As envisioned, the powers and duties of this board would include: 1) responsibility for preparing short, intermediate, and long-range statewide plans, and for serving as a catalyst for the development of segmental and institutional plans, 2) responsibility for recommending the level of financial support for all segments of higher education, insuring that operating and capital budgets are based upon the programs approved in the academic plan, and 3) responsibility for developing and maintaining close relationships with key state officials, legislators, and state agencies.

The selection of an executive director for the board's staff is one of the most critical decisions the board has to make. The central importance of this appointment is reinforced by two recent trends in the statewide coordination and planning of higher education: First, these agencies are increasingly gaining power over educational policy and its administrative implementation because of the support given by state legislative and executive offices and the rapid expansion of federal monies for higher education. Statewide planning and coordinating agencies are increasingly used to allocate these monies to public and private institutions. Second, the central issues of higher education, although now concerned mainly with accommodating increasing numbers of students, are moving quickly (and, in some cases, dramatically) toward more fundamental concerns, such as those related to the function of higher learning institutions with respect to contemporary societal problems--poverty, racism, pollution, war, and inflation.

What is required is an educational leader who knows the values that undergird academic life, who understands and accepts basic differences in perspective between academics, places qualitative matters ahead of quantitative imperatives, and fosters creative tension and continuous self-renewal throughout a state's higher education network.

To facilitate the work of the board, two organizational arrangements are needed: a staff for the executive director of the agency and a committee structure for the board. The executive director would select a staff of professional, technical, and clerical personnel organized into three major divisions--Academic and Program Planning, Budgets and Fiscal Resources, and Facilities and Capital Construction. The Academic and Program Planning division would serve as the operating unit to coordinate the preparation and review of long-range plans. The division of Budgets and Fiscal Resources would translate educational plans into budgetary terms, provide cost/benefit estimates for alternative proposals, and prepare the combined budget requests of all higher education segments. And the Facilities and Capital Construction division would focus on the renovation and expansion of existing facilities and the determination, on a statewide basis, of the need for new facilities in higher education. This staff could be quite small, supplemented by a cadre of task forces drawn from faculty, administrators, and citizens from inside and outside the state, which would be disbanded once their assigned task was complete. Thus, experts would be convened to provide counsel only in their area of competence and experience.

The liaison between the board and the staff would be facilitated by a committee structure within the board that would parallel the three divisions of the staff. These committees would receive, study, and evaluate the staff reports and proposals prior to a review and decision by the full board. The second major feature of the structure for planning would be a state law to mandate continuous planning at all levels in higher education. At a minimum, it would include the following provisions: 1) That all institutions that receive state funds develop long-range academic facilities and fiscal plans.

2) That the board prepare a statewide plan every four years (to be known as the quadrennial plan) and submit it to the legislature and the governor, and an interim revision and progress report (to be known as the biennial report) be submitted to the legislature and the governor during every other biennial session. Segmental plans or revisions and progress reports developed on the same two-year cycle would constitute a major input to statewide planning. 3) That planning, whether statewide, segmental, or institutional, be defined as a process resulting in statements about all the major policies and activities of higher education appropriate to a given level. Planning would be conceived of as an open and reciprocal process, with the free interchange of information and ideas at all levels and between all types of higher education. It would not be a unidirectional activity in which statewide plans are forced on planners at segments or institutional levels, nor a process of compiling lower level plans into statewide proposals. (The structure needed to foster this kind of participation is discussed below.) 4) That plans should contain proposals for three time periods--short-range (1-4 years), intermediate-range (5-25 years), and extended long-range (26-50 years). 5) That the board have final responsibility for coordinating planning on a statewide basis across all segments of higher education. Statewide plans for higher education would be coordinated with planning in lower education, especially at the secondary level. The foregoing basic ideas should be set in law regardless of the particular structure established for the coordination of statewide planning in higher education.

The design of the third major feature of the planning structure--the establishment of an arrangement for continuous statewide planning under the board--should allow for wide participation, and be sufficiently flexible that it can be reconstituted wholly or in part during the process of planning or when moving from one plan to another. In general, the working structure should involve a steering committee to be appointed by the executive director, with the approval of the board. The primary function of the steering committee would be to raise fundamental educational policy issues and to formulate the specific topics and questions to be examined in the planning process. The membership of this group should span all segments, agencies, and offices that constitute a state's higher education network.

Although this recommendation concerns the developing of a working structure for statewide planning, it is envisioned that a somewhat similar structure and process would be functioning simultaneously at the segmental and institutional levels. The end product of the planning activities at all three levels should be a statewide plan closely coordinated with and representative of the ideas and concepts contained in plans at all the levels.

Four separate advisory committees--citizens, presidents, faculty, and students--should be appointed in consultation with the steering committee. In some cases, when the structure for statewide coordination does not provide adequate representation of the private sector, it may be necessary to establish a fifth advisory group to solicit ideas, recommendations, and reactions from the private institutions. These committees would primarily function early and late in a planning cycle. Initially, they would be asked to suggest to the steering committee critical issues and basic questions to be considered in planning. Later they would review and evaluate draft copies of study committee reports and submit their own set of recommendations.

Once an agenda of topics, issues, and problems is developed by the steering committee, study committees appointed in consultation with the steering committee should undertake research and a full examination of a specific problem(s) assigned to them. Upon completion of their work, position paper(s) containing specific recommendations would be presented to the various advisory committees and the steering committee. The membership of the study committees would not follow a standard model; the major concern would be to create a maximum level of expertise and provide for varying perspectives on each problem.

The final phase of the planning cycle would involve the drafting of the statewide plan by the executive director and his staff, its submission for review to the advisory committees, the holding of public hearings in different parts of the state, presentation of the draft to the board for their review, revision of the draft for final approval by the board, and submission to the legislature and the governor. Once a plan receives the endorsement of these state officials, then board staff and the steering committee would assist in implementing the plan according to a previously developed schedule of steps. Follow-up on the implementation of the plan and evaluation of its impact would be closely monitored by the executive director, with the advice and counsel of his staff. A new cycle of planning would be initiated by the board in consultation with the steering committee.

The Planning Model Summarized

If any single theme emerges from the foregoing discussion, it is that planning is a complex process of increasing importance to the welfare of higher education and requires an open, flexible, and fluid methodology which makes use of the expertise and special competencies of a wide variety of persons. The PM outlined above contains the following basic features:

Assumptions

> No basic changes will occur in the formal structure and pattern of governance in higher education.
>
> The distribution of authority among students, faculty, administrators, and various outside groups and agencies will continue to be problematical.
>
> Educational planning in the future will be more comprehensive, continuous, and better grounded in research.
>
> Higher education and the planning process will become increasingly politicized.

Principles

> Program formulation is the single most important task for planners. Decisions about finances, facilities, and personnel are of secondary importance, although they must be consistent with program priorities.
>
> Decision-making about program formulation is a process that involves a close interplay among the tasks of initiation, decision, and implementation. Much negotiation occurs in this process between institutional, segmental, and statewide levels.
>
> A division of labor exists among institutions, segments, and statewide agencies in program formulation: The institution's major task is to define program needs;

the segment's major task is to define broadly the missions and roles of its institutions; and the statewide agency's major task is to define broadly the missions and roles of its segments so that statewide needs are adequately met.

Various exceptions or contingencies occur in the process of program formulation. High costs and joint programs necessitate segment-wide and/or statewide review; program gaps are identified by supra-institutional agencies; jurisdictional disputes between institutions or other units within the network over programs are mediated at the next higher level in the network; responsibility is assumed by the next higher level in the network when a unit does not perform its task in program formulation; and special steps are taken by higher level agencies within the network to respect the independence of institutions with constitutional autonomy.

An Interorganizational Network at Its Best

Comprehensive Planning: Broad in scope, based on priorities, informed by research, developed through widespread participation, implemented according to a predetermined timetable and general strategy, and designed to span programs and proposals across multiple projection periods.

Differentiated: A statewide higher education network consisting of several (nine or more) distinct segments of institutions performing similar educational functions.

Centralized Authority: A statewide agency holds final decision-making responsibility for coordinated planning although the primary responsibility for critical decisions about key educational policy questions in planning--the public interest, institutional missions and roles, and program needs--is assigned to different levels in the network according to known competencies.

Medium Educational Autonomy: The majority of decisions about educational programs are made jointly by institutions and statewide agencies, budgetary and personnel support is generally consistent with program plans although certain important restrictions still operate, and local institutions are exposed to some periodic review of their activities.

A Planning Structure at Its Best

Statewide Board (Comparable structures and processes would be functioning simultaneously at the segmental and institutional levels).

Membership: Majority of laymen.

Staff: Relatively small; full-time professional, executive director; associate directors; supplemented by experts convened into temporary task forces.

Organization: Divisions of Academic and Program Planning, Budgets and Fiscal Resources, and Facilities and Capital Construction.

Responsibilities: Prepare statewide plans, help generate segmental and institutional planning, recommend level of financial support.

Planning: Quadriennial plans and interim revision and progress reports mandated by law.

Working Structure: Steering Committee, Advisory Committees, and Study Committee.

There are unquestionably alternative and feasible structures, but whatever the structure, its success or failure rests on the individuals and personalities who occupy key positions of authority. Any design for continuous long-range planning should concentrate, therefore, on finding the best possible combination of structure, process, and personalities; a compatible and smoothly functioning combination is prerequisite to planning of the highest quality.

Planning in Four States Compared with the Planning Model

The history of higher education in each of the four states highlights the early dominance and autonomy of the University of California, later the California State Colleges, Stanford University, and the University of Southern California; the University of Florida, Florida State University, and the University of Miami; the University of Illinois and the University of Chicago; and the "Big Six" in New York--Columbia, Cornell, Fordham, New York University, Rochester, and Syracuse. These institutions were essentially "educational monopolies" whose aims and desires per se were dominant, and they tended to pursue their own interests, with only limited concern for other institutions, or for the "public interest."

However, subsequent to World War II and the period after the launching of Sputnik, the nation was faced with sharply increasing student populations. The pressure to expand state systems of higher education was strong, especially in rapidly growing and newly emerging urban centers, and the expansion took different forms in different states. Florida's and California's major population growth was in the south, and new public institutions were built in these rapidly growing regions. In Illinois and New York, population growth continued to follow earlier patterns, no major new urban centers emerged, and higher education was expanded by increasing the capacity of existing campuses and establishing new junior colleges.

It is a testimony to the strength of the pressures to expand that so much growth took place in New York and Florida, both of which had long histories of resistance to the expansion of public higher education. This was most notable in New York, where nonpublic colleges and universities dominated education for almost 200 years. Not until the late 1940s was there a major breakthrough, when the State University was developed as a result of two major statewide studies (Young

Commission and Heald Report). Less dramatic was the experience in Florida. For 50 years following the establishment of the Board of Control in 1905, no new public institutions were established. It is claimed by some educators that certain nonpublic institutions resisted the expansion of public higher education during the 1940s and 1950s, even though the postwar demands for additional institutions were obvious. Major expansions of the public sector did not occur until after the Brumbaugh and Blee studies and the Community Junior College Plan of the mid-1950s. In both of these states, once a breakthrough was made for public higher education, expansion came rapidly. The State University of New York grew from a handful of campuses in 1948 to approximately 63 campuses in 1968. The State University System in Florida had three campuses in 1956 and nine by 1969. In addition, there was marked expansion within Florida's Community Junior College segment--from five campuses before the 1957 plan to 27 campuses in 1969.

In California and Florida, population growth in the southern part of these states was accompanied by the establishment of new public colleges and universities. For Florida, population shifts were particularly significant for the older, dominant public institutions. Gainesville and Tallahassee were population centers and Florida's major cities until the population explosion in the Miami-St. Petersburg area after World War II. In the past, the University of Florida and Florida State University had been able to claim the exclusive attention of legislators; but now with the emergence of new population centers and the growth of political influence in these areas as a result of legislative and congressional reapportionment, their situation has changed. When there is a shift within a state from almost exclusive support of a few, dominant institutions which serve limited numbers of students, to many and varied kinds of institutions which serve a large and diverse student population, the necessity for statewide coordination and planning becomes more obvious. Interinstitutional competition generally flourishes during periods of major expansion and state officials become more concerned about the efficient expenditure of state funds for higher education. Planning and coordination are seen as effective means for controlling institutional competition and achieving a systematic rationale for growth. Generally the autonomy of dominant institutions is reduced as new institutions are added to a state's system and as coordinated networks of colleges and universities emerge.

Statewide coordinating and planning agencies exist in most states today, but with important variations in the composition of their membership, staffing patterns, and powers. For example, New York's Board of Regents and State Department of Education are relatively old structures, responsible for all levels of education, public and nonpublic. In the past, their statewide planning efforts have been minimal, and only during the 1960s did the Regents become particularly active in planning. This is mainly the result of the "Planning Law" passed by the legislature in 1961, which required quadrennial plans and yearly progress reports. The Regents' first statewide plan was released in 1964, followed by several interim progress reports. Although this early work mainly represented a consolidation of SUNY and CUNY long-range plans and reports, more recent planning activities by the Regents suggest a new orientation--toward conducting more research and gathering information on statewide issues and problems.

A combination of factors had made it difficult for the Regents to play a strong planning role in the past. The planning function had been "buried" among the other responsibilities of the State Department of Education; both CUNY and SUNY developed strong central leadership in planning and actively sought to involve institutions in planning efforts; and the nonpublic colleges and universities have done no regular, long-range planning. Recently, however, a consultant's report proposed a reorganization of the State Department of Education in order to strengthen the Regents' role in statewide planning. Also, the Bundy Report's recommendation of direct state aid to nonpublic institutions means that long-term planning will require more careful articulation between the public and nonpublic sectors.

The state of Florida has undergone somewhat similar experiences. The State Board of Education, established in 1885, had jurisdiction over all levels of education, but did not exert significant leadership in statewide planning. In the past, the governor, legislature, and Board of Regents sponsored various *ad hoc* study groups to develop statewide plans for higher education, and the State University System and Community Junior Colleges have engaged in planning. But new efforts are underway to provide for continuous statewide planning in the future, and the State Board of Education is gathering a staff for this purpose.

Unlike Florida and New York, both California and Illinois have formal statewide coordinating agencies for higher education. The Illinois Board of Higher Education, created in 1961, is presently composed of 15 members (eight citizens appointed by the governor, the chairman and one board member from each of the three existing governing boards, and the State Superintendent of Public Instruction). This board has the authority to grant program approval, pass on admissions standards, and approve budgets and proposals for operating capital. The majority of the board members are lay members and the powers of the board are fairly comprehensive. California's Coordinating Council for Higher Education, established per the 1960 Master Plan, is composed of 18 members, six of whom are lay citizens appointed by the governor, and the remaining 12 institutional representatives (the president or chancellor and two board members for each of the four segments--university, state colleges, junior colleges, and nonpublic institutions). The majority of these members represent institutions and the powers of the Coordinating Council are solely advisory in all matters.

Differences in the composition and powers of the California and Illinois coordinating agencies are reflected in the nature of their work and their relative influence over statewide higher education. In California, no statewide plan for higher education has been prepared since the 1960 Master Plan. Much of the Coordinating Council's work has gone into management-oriented studies, such as those on faculty salaries, space utilization standards, budgeting procedures, need for new campuses, flow of students among the segments, and similar topics. In part, the planning efforts of the Joint Legislative Committee and other contemporary study groups and task forces are the result of this emphasis in the council's work.

Continuous planning (academic, facilities, and fiscal) has taken place, however, within the state college and university segments, and within most of the institutions. Like New York, the major planning activities for higher education in California occur at the segmental and institutional levels, but the integration of different types of plans is a difficult problem in both states.

In contrast to the situation in California, New York, and Florida, the Illinois Board of Higher Education has continued to play a central role in statewide planning. Several statewide plans have been developed which are in different stages of implementation, and these have drawn extensively on the expertise of a widespread sample of institutional representatives.

Findings such as these corroborate those of others (Glenny, 1966) that statewide planning agencies dominated by institutional members and assigned only advisory powers are not as effective in developing and implementing long-range plans as agencies composed of lay representatives and given broader responsibilities and powers. A majority of lay members on coordinating agencies significantly checks the interplay between institutional members with competing interests, and actual control over programs and budgets provides the agencies with the necessary leverage to implement statewide plans. As noted, only one of the four states--Illinois--has a coordinating agency with such desired features, and none of the four states has yet developed an overall system of planning that integrates statewide, segmental, and institutional plans. Current patterns emphasize either statewide or segmental planning, but not both.

It is important to realize certain of the liabilities associated with states in which planning is both narrow and ad hoc. Such a style of planning leaves significant power vacuums in the system, and when there is a lack of effective leadership, special interest groups can move in to significantly shape important policy matters in higher education.

Two of the four states illustrate the consequences of permitting power vacuums to form. In California, where for a variety of reasons discussed earlier, the Coordinating Council has been unable to reach beyond piecemeal, "crisis-oriented" planning, this situation has invited a variety of groups and influential persons with special interests to significantly affect the overall development of higher education in California. These include the Department of Finance, the Joint Legislative Committee on Higher Education, the Constitutional Revision Commission, the Governor's Task Force on Cost and Efficiency, the governor, and the former speaker of the house. Florida provides the best example of a state in which the absence of effective educational leadership at the statewide level or within the state university system has encouraged special interest groups or selected individuals to exert decisive influence over such matters as campus site selection, the definition of institutional mission and role, personnel appointments, and facilities construction projects. A feature common to both Florida and California is the lack of an effective statewide coordinating and planning agency and the presence of strong competition between or within the segments of public higher education.

Different patterns exist in the states with respect to formal and informal involvement of elected state officials in higher education. In California, for example, the governor, lieutenant governor, speaker of the house, and superintendent of public instruction serve as *ex officio* members on the Board of Regents (University of California), Board of Trustees (California state colleges), and Board of Governors (junior colleges). State officials can exert their influence directly on other members of these boards, as in the recent debates over student tuitions, the firing of the university's president, and actions intended to quell student unrest. Because politicians with direct ties to the boards need not rely on the Council as the "spokesman for higher education," these appointments also tend to reinforce the Coordinating Council's peripheral role in dealing with critical issues in higher education.

In Florida, the State Cabinet consists of seven elected officials who also constitute the State Board of Education, with overall final responsibility for public, elementary, secondary, and postsecondary education. Thus, political influence is built directly into the highest level of the educational network, with consequences that were fully explicated in the chapter on Florida.

No politicians are directly involved in higher education in New York or Illinois through formal membership on statewide, segmental, or institutional boards. Nonetheless, the appointment powers of the governors provide them with an indirect form of involvement. Through his appointments to various statewide and segmental boards, a governor can exert significant influence over the board's deliberations.

Conclusion

Higher education faces a "qualitative crisis," and the crisis is evidently complicated by a gap in communication. While students, faculty, legislators, and the general public are raising fundamental questions about the basic aims and purposes of higher education, the irrelevance of curriculums, and the alienation of constituencies from planning and administration, many planners at statewide and institutional levels are still almost wholly preoccupied with quantitative, physical, and fiscal problems. A major challenge to higher education is to devise a style of planning which will allow questions of educational policy to be openly debated and the resulting decisions facilitated, rather than inhibited, by considerations of efficiency and economy. In Selznick's (1957) words:

> The cult of efficiency in administrative theory and practice is a modern way of overstressing means and neglecting ends. This it does in two ways. First, by fixing attention on maintaining a smooth-running machine, it slights the more basic and more difficult problem of defining and safeguarding the ends of an enterprise. Second, the cult of efficiency tends to stress techniques of organization that are essentially neutral, and therefore available for any goals, rather than methods peculiarly adapted to a distinctive type of organization or stage of development /p. 135/.

If the demands that flow from the qualitative crisis are to be met, several important steps must be taken in educational planning. Modes for increasing participation in planning are needed to overcome the alienation between those who are served and those who administer. New techniques must be devised that will forecast needs, subordinate means to ends, and be responsive to change. Elementary and secondary education should be re-evaluated and the new knowledge about learning systematically examined for its implications for higher education.

And all students, faculty, and administrators must come to share the responsibility for developing a sensitivity to the probable directions of social change, and for identifying the role of higher education in guiding the changes and acquiring the skills to adapt to them.

In complex organizations, the awareness that apparently limitless options have been critically reduced is the signal that planning of the most informed and creative kind is called for. There can be little question that higher education is at that point of awareness; how it responds to the signal will not only have a crucially controlling effect on higher education, but by extension, on our most basic social institutions.

The Planning Model outlined in this study provides an important alternative to the current perspectives on planning and policy formulation in higher education. In the past, quantitative growth and fiscal formulas have been stressed; in the future, planning will be forced to emphasize qualitative development and flexible governance configurations. Strong educational leadership, increasingly wide participation in planning, and heavy reliance on the special competencies of a wide variety of experts should result in innovative solutions to what is ultimately the most indisputable challenge to higher education today--the certainty of change.

Appendix

METHODOLOGY

Selection of the States

In the original design of the study, two states in each of three stages in the development of statewide planning were to be selected--two states in the process of developing their initial statewide plan, two with statewide plans in the process of being implemented, reformulated, and expanded, and two which had a relatively long history and considerable experience in statewide planning.

To determine which states fell into the above three categories, relevant published information about comprehensive planning across the nation was examined and letters sent to almost all of the fifty states, requesting a "thumbnail" sketch of the current status of planning.

On the basis of these documents, correspondence, and some conversations with experts on statewide planning, a chart was developed of nine criteria for evaluating each of the states. These included: 1) size and comprehensiveness of the state higher educational system, 2) existence of a statewide plan, 3) age of the coordinating mechanism, 4) history of work on statewide problems and issues in higher education, 5) type of coordinating mechanism, 6) accessibility of the state for intensive study, 7) sophistication employed in statewide planning and coordination, 8) geographical distribution, and 9) extent to which a state represents a "pure type" for each of the statewide planning phases. Information on these criteria for some states was incomplete.

An initial sample of six states and a set of alternative states was chosen, and a national advisory committee for the project was convened to examine the overall characteristics of the proposed study. Although the committee strongly recommended that ten or eleven states be included in the study for a more complete picture of statewide planning, it was eventually determined that only four states, each with a relatively long history of statewide planning, would be studied. These were California, Florida, Illinois, and New York.

The critical decision to limit the sample to four states that were all in the same stage of planning was based on several considerations. Of primary importance were staff and budgetary limitations; since the decision had been made to do more intensive case studies in each state than had originally been planned, assessment of the impact of statewide planning at the institutional level would take considerable time and resources.

The sample was limited to states in which planning was at the same stage of development because the long-range impact of statewide planning can best be analyzed in those states which had been engaged in planning for at least five years.

Preparation of State Reports

A series of letters were written to various key persons in each of the states, seeking their cooperation. Numerous published and unpublished documents were collected and analyzed, and the research staff met in seminars to discuss various aspects of the higher education system and the statewide planning agency in each state. On the basis of this preliminary work, an extensive report was written on each state, giving a general description of higher education in the state, a historical sketch of its planning and coordination, the formal powers and duties of its coordinating agency, an analysis of key planning documents, the current issues involved in its statewide planning and higher education, and the major voluntary organizations related to its higher education and planning.

These reports provided a readily available compendium of information and data which was used for study purposes prior to and during the field work; identified important gaps in information prior to the state visits; facilitated many field interviews by demonstrating the interviewer's familiarity with the state's problems; and served as an important basis for the subsequent writing of the state chapters.

Selection of the Institutions

Several criteria were used to select a sample of institutions within each state. Since statewide planning presumably includes all facets of higher education, it was necessary for the sample to include public and private junior colleges, state colleges, and universities; new and experimental campuses; large and small institutions; and urban and rural campuses. Published data on size, age, ownership, location, and curriculum were collected for each institution in each state, and nominations of institutions from a panel of six to ten informed persons in each state were solicited. Responses from these persons supplied important information about institutions that would generally not be known to persons unfamiliar with the state.

Based on the institutional data and the nominations, the following sample of institutions was chosen for each state:

California (26)

University of California at Berkeley
University of California at Los Angeles
University of California at Davis
University of California at Irvine
University of California at San Diego
California State College at San Francisco
California State College at San Bernardino
California State College at San Jose
California State College at Los Angeles
California State College at Humbolt
California State College at Fullerton
California State College at Fresno
California State College at San Diego
Bakersfield College
Los Angeles Harbor Colleges
College of San Mateo

California (continued)

Foothill College
Cabrillo College
Grossmont College
Santa Rosa College
College of the Redwoods
Stanford University
Claremont Colleges
University of Southern California
Mills College
University of San Francisco

Florida (11)

University of Florida at Gainesville
University of South Florida at Tampa
Florida State University at Tallahassee
Florida A & M University at Tallahassee
Miami-Dade Junior College at Miami
St. Petersburg Junior College
Tallahassee Junior College
University of Miami
Florida Presbyterian College
Stetson University

Illinois (20)

University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana
University of Illinois at Chicago Circle
Illinois State University at Normal
Chicago State College
Southern Illinois University at Carbondale
Northern Illinois University at DeKalb
Northeastern Illinois State College at Chicago
Chicago City College--Wilson Campus
Chicago City College--Wright Campus
Rock Valley College at Rockford
Black Hawk College at Moline
Triton College at Northlake
Rend Lake College at Mt. Vernon
Bradley University
DePaul University
Knox College
MacMurray College
Roosevelt University
Shimer College
University of Chicago

New York (28)

State University of New York at Albany
State University of New York at Binghamton
State University of New York at Buffalo
State University of New York at Stonybrook
State University College at Brockport
State University College at Oswego
State University College at Cortland
State University College of Forestry at Syracuse University
State University Agricultural and Technical College at Farmingdale
Broome Technical Community College at Binghampton
Hudson Valley Community College at Troy
Monroe Community College at Rochester
Nassau Community College at Garden City
Brooklyn College, City University of New York
Queens College, City University of New York
York College, City University of New York
New York City Community College of Applied Arts and Sciences
Sarah Lawrence College
St. John's University
Fordham University
New York University
Hofstra University
Bard College
Syracuse University
University of Rochester
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute
Voorhees Technical Institute
Cazenovia College

The Interviewees

Some seven hundred interviews were conducted in the four states, interviewees representing such groups as the governor's staff, the state legislature, the statewide coordinating agency for higher education, trustees and regents, professional associations, and faculty and administrators. Most interviewees were selected on the basis of nominations made by six to eight people in each state. Faculty and administrators of institutions were selected mainly by the president, but some were added by the research staff during campus visits. Campus interviewees usually included academic vice-presidents, vice-presidents for finance, directors of planning, faculty chairmen, and members of local planning committees.

Data Collection

Major sources of data included data collected during semi-structured interviews and published and unpublished documents prepared by special study committees and commissions of formally established statewide coordinating and planning bodies.

More than one interview schedule was used in each state; separate schedules were written for each group of interviewees--state officials, legislators, coordinators, trustees/regents, presidents/chancellors, academic vice-presidents, vice-presidents of finance, and the like. Questions ranged across several topics, such as the status of master plans, the roles played by interest groups, the nature of institutional planning, key institutional academic problems, level of faculty information about planning activities and proposals, and institutional problems resolved, unresolved, ignored, or created by statewide planning. Whenever possible, the different groups were asked common questions.

A single interviewer usually interviewed for about one to two hours, although some were for substantially longer periods. No recordings were made; notes were taken and the full record of each interview was written up as soon as possible.

Data Analysis

Interview statements were sorted into four major categories. These categories—goals for higher education, patterns of inter-institutional cooperation, resource allocations, and planning—flowed from the conceptual framework. Each interview statement was given an identification code prior to sorting. Following the first sort, another was done to develop subtopics within each general category. Thus, when writing about a given topic, the appropriate set of interviewee statements could be selected, studied, and organized.

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